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ADDENDUM TO THE “ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA”

PART II

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BA-ILA

No ONE is more aware than I of the deficiencies of the *Ila-speaking Peoples*. I always hoped that other investigators would fill the gaps that Dale and I left, particularly in regard to social organization; but up to the present this has not been done. The defects are all the more glaring in view of the full analysis of some other tribes that has been provided by recent researchers: Evans-Pritchard for the Nuer, Fortes for the Tallensi, Forde for the Yako. The Baila are included in the seven-year research plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and no doubt as a result of it we shall learn much more about them. Meanwhile I took advantage of my visit to ask some questions. The time at my disposal was insufficient to push inquiries to a satisfactory conclusion; but I record a few notes in the hope that they may be useful to other workers.

1. *The Mushobo*

If the Baila are asked what constitutes a *mushobo* they reply that it is made up of persons who (a) speak a common language, albeit with some dialectal variation; (b) have the same colour of skin; (c) practise the same customs; and (d) belong to kinship groups through which they are genetically linked with the ancestors who founded the larger group of the *mushobo*. We may translate

mushobo by “tribe”, but this does not imply that the Baila have a centralized political system. The *mushobo* is divided into a number of territorial units (*shishi*, sing. *chishi*) each of which is autonomous under its own *mwami* (chief). I suppose it would be correct to use the terminology of Evans-Pritchard and speak of the *chishi* as a segment, for, like the Nuer segments, each *chishi* has its distinctive name (geographical), its common sentiment, its unique territory. In former times war was frequent between one *chishi* and another, or between alliances of *shishi*. There were long-standing feuds among them. But they are not isolated. They are interlinked by a web of kinship relations among their members. The clan and lineage, presently to be described, are not coterminous with any *chishi*; inhabitants of the various *shishi* intermarry freely so long as certain taboos are observed. The political organization is distinct from the social groupings.

2. *The Mukoa*

Dale and I gave a fairly full account of the *mukoa*, which we called the “clan”—a group whose members regard one another as in some sense kinsfolk even though they cannot trace a genealogical connexion by descent from a known common ancestor. An emotional tie binds them in a kind of brotherhood; they have a common name compounded usually of the name

of some animal or plant which is the emblem of their unity. There is no outward sign by which clansmen identify their fellows ; you only know a person to be your clansman when you know his clan-name to be your own. When strangers meet it is customary to ask : "U-mukoa-nzhi ?" "What is your clan ?" A man would be sure to ask the question of a woman in whom he was interested lest he should inadvertently violate the sex-taboo inherent in the clan-relationship. Ideally the *mukoa* is a mutual aid association : members are bound to assist each other and to refrain from harming each other. If, for example, you are travelling with carriers and on arrival at camp find that some of the men have lagged behind, however hungry or tired the others may be some of them will go back along the path to bring in the stragglers and their loads : in all probability they are the clan-brothers of the men who could not make it. In old-time battles, if a warrior recognized an opponent to be a clansman he would refrain from attacking him.

Dale and I recorded the names of ninety-three clans. None of these is a territorial unit. The clan is not corporate in the sense that the members reside together in one locality. Whatever may have been the situation in ancient times, the clansmen are dispersed through the various *shishi*. But while thus dispersed many, if not all, the clans (as Dale and I noted) are associated in the minds of the people with certain localities. We were able to name many of those places. The Bananyati (the Buffaloes) e.g. point to Mbeza as their *cisoke*, their place of origin—*nkubakasokela*. This does not now mean that they have an estate at Mbeza that is their peculiar property. But it does mean that if a Munanyati wanted to take up residence at Mbeza he could claim the right to a parcel of land there. The reputed founder of the clan, or some eminent member thereof, was buried there and his grave is remembered.

At Maala, in the old days before Shimunenga took possession of the area, a man named Shimwaba ("Mr. Jackal") lived there. He is regarded as the founder of the Banashimwaba, the Jackal clan. Some Jackals live there still and have rights in some of the land. When my informant, Nku-

mbula, who is of the Banasulwe (the Honey-guide clan) whose *cisoke* is at Citumbi (where the Kasenga mission is located,) wished to return to Maala, his birthplace, he approached the head of the Jackals for permission to build on his land. He consented and went with Nkumbula to a certain spot and with his own hands opened the soil where the first pole of the hut should be planted. By that act he transferred to Nkumbula, a Munasulwe, the usufruct of that site which was part of the patrimony of the Banashimwaba. I might add that Mungaila, the chief of Maala, strongly protested against this act, saying that the land belonged to him. I think that the connexion between the clan and the land should be closely investigated.

It appears that while one clansman will help another, and while there are occasions when some clansmen act in unison, at no time do all the dispersed clansmen come together and act as one body. I have not discovered that clansmen gather periodically to offer sacrifice at the grave of their founder. The only assemblies of that kind are communal as when all the people of Maala, whatever be their clan, meet for the festival in honour of Shimunenga. Dale and I gave a verbatim account of what happens when a clansman is murdered ; how the heads of the clan meet and determine what number of cattle are to be paid by the murderer's clan, in default of which the murderer becomes the property of the offended clan—"our man" they call him. But not all the clansmen meet at such an occasion. Marriage is, I think, a matter of two families rather than of two clans ; but we recounted what we had been informed of the action of members of the girl's clan ; how they consult together as to the fitness of the man to marry the clan-daughter and the number of cattle to be transferred as bride-wealth. Here again, it is not all the clansmen who come together to deal with the affair ; only those who reside near the girl's home. Nor do all clansmen come together for the funeral of one of their number ; and they have no prescriptive right to *kona*, i.e. to inherit his possessions. A wealthy Munasulwe may go to the burial of a clansman and take a beast to be

slaughtered at the feast ; in return for his offering he may receive something out of the estate ; but in all this he acts as an individual, not as the delegate of the clan. If there is an exhibition of cows and a Munanyati shows the best, several Banasulwe may join in selecting the finest beast in their possession and put it into competition with the Munanyati's cow ; but the clan does not act corporately. A man may be adopted into a clan that is not his by birth. The proposer will call together such of his fellows as are available and if they are agreeable the animal totem of the clan is killed and its blood is drunk by one or more of them and the man to be adopted. Or the sacrament may take the form of sucking a clansman's blood by him. Presumably in such a case the new member is accepted by all the clan even though only a few members have taken an active part in the adoption.

Is the *mukoa* matrilineal or patrilineal ? In other words, does a man or woman belong to the mother's or the father's group, or to both ? Dale and I concluded that it was unilateral and matrilineal but we gave some facts which seemed to imply that the word *mukoa* was being extended to cover not only a person's kinsmen on both sides, but also others who act as genuine friends. We noted, for one thing, that some people asserted that they bore the clan-names of both mother and father. I found instances of this during my recent visit. One man informed me that he was a Munamuzovu (of the Elephant clan) as his father was, but that he might also be referred to as a Munangombe, i.e. of the cattle clan to which his mother belonged. In his mind the mother's clan was apparently of secondary importance. Some of my informants agreed that the *mukoa* has little or no significance nowadays—it is "just a name". I even heard it denied that the *mukoa* is a kinship group. It is, I was told, a loosely connected group of people who have certain interests in common—common right, e.g. in a fishing-pool.

The fact that forty years ago some people said they belonged to both the father's and the mother's clan might mean—it has been suggested to me—that kinship was bilaterally traced for

many social purposes. Further study is necessary to determine the truth of this ; I am unable to say whether for some purposes—and for what—a man is a Munangombe and for other purposes is a Munanyati. It may mean that the *mukoa* has been gradually changing its character. In the first Frazer lecture (1922) Dr. E. Sidney Hartland when discussing the evolution of kinship remarked : ". . . it is obvious that among the Baila matrilineal descent is fighting a losing battle, and there can be little doubt that, if they had been left to the play of the forces of native culture only, they would sooner or later have adopted patrilineal kinship, as other Bantu tribes have done". That there has been some shift of emphasis towards the patriline is shewn, I think, in succession to the chieftainship. Formerly the rule was *Mwami taazhadi mwami*, "A chief does not beget a chief". Chiefs were selected from among the ablest of the elders. Now, I am told, the tendency is to appoint the eldest son of the chief deceased. The example of their powerful neighbours, the Balozi, who formerly claimed suzerainty over the Baila, has perhaps influenced them, and possibly the persuasion, direct or indirect, of British government officers has weighed with them. Other factors may have had their part to play in giving importance to patrilineal descent.

The Nuer clan, as described by Dr. Evans-Pritchard, is the largest group of agnates who trace their descent from a common ancestor and between whom marriage is forbidden and sexual relations are considered incestuous. The Ila clan is like the Nuer clan in the latter particulars, as I shall presently point out. The clansmen may be descended from a common ancestor but they cannot now name him or trace their descent genealogically. Some clan-names embody the name of a person as an alternative designation ; e.g. the Bananyati, the Buffalo clan, are also called Bana-Mainga, "the people of Mainga", but it is not possible to say definitely that Mainga is their common ancestor : he may have been no more than a man of such eminence as to cause his name to be remembered. It is perhaps noteworthy that when questioned as to the origin of their *mukoa* people speak of a man, not of a

woman, as the founder. One informant said he imagined the founder to be a man who became friendly with some animal and forthwith invited other men to share in the friendship. Another thought that a diviner had warned the founder never to eat the flesh of a certain animal—as if he were allergic to it—and he gathered about him other men who were likewise inhibited.

The rule of exogamy still holds and it precludes extra-marital intercourse as well as marriage. Some people say it applies to the patriclan and the matriclan; I mean that a man is prohibited sexual intercourse with a woman who bears the clan-name of either his mother or his father. Provision is made for exceptional cases. I am told that if two young people of the same *mukoa* fall in love and insist on marrying, members of both families meet to discuss the matter. If they decide to allow the marriage, the man's family hands over a cow to the woman's family: this is not *chiko*, "bride-wealth", but *luloa*, "blood-offering" (cf. *buloa*, blood). It has the same function as the beasts offered to the communal divinity to allay his wrath when a man has been murdered within the community: this also is *luloa*. The beast is ceremonially killed and eaten and thereby the incest tabu is removed.

Whether the Ila clan might be described in the words used by Dr. Evans-Pritchard of the Nuer clan—"a highly segmented genealogical structure", the segments being lineages, I am not sure. The relation between the *mukoa*, which I take to be the clan, and the *lunungu*, which may be a lineage, remains to be discussed.

3. *The Mukwashi*

In our book Dale and I reported an Ila epigram: *Mukoa ngwa banoko, mukwashi ngwa uso*, "the clan is of your mother, the family is of your father"; and we said: "The father's side of the pedigree is termed the *mukwashi*; this is the family *par excellence*". I would now say that *mukwashi* is more accurately denoted by "household" in Dr. Evans-Pritchard's sense of the word. The term has three meanings: (a) a clapping of the hands as a greeting to a superior—to a chief or to a person who is possessed by a spirit; (b) the

mound of live manure ash around which people gather in a section of a village (*mukobo*) particularly on a cold day; and (c) a family group. I suppose the connexion with the primary meaning of "clapping" is that, just as two hands are brought together in clapping, so in the family group father and mother (of different clans) are brought together. Connexion with the mound of ash is obvious: this is a meeting place of members of a family and so stands as an emblem of their unity. The word may be derived from *kwata*, "hold"—"something which causes, or helps, to hold".

The *mukwashi*, say my informants, does not extend beyond the circle of father, mother, children and nephews when these are temporarily present. Speaking in English one of them says: "*Mukwashi* is a relationship of the free and pure stock of the Baila. No foreigner (*mulumbu*) can obtain true relationship in a *mukwashi*." Another extends the meaning to cover all residents in a *mukobo*—the fenced-off section of a village; these would include servants or slaves. Another informant says that *mukwashi* comprises all people who have the right to *kona*, i.e. to inherit, to share in a dead man's possessions. That is to say, when a man dies his kindred come to the funeral bringing gifts of beer, cattle, etc., to be consumed during the feast, and in return for these have the right to be given some part of his property (*tukono*). This would indicate a larger group than that allowed by other informants. Another said that all persons related by blood or marriage to a man named F would be F's *mukwashi*. It would seem that the word has now a still wider range in the minds of some people: *mukwashi* may include all people united by some common purpose—which is what some say of the *mukoa*. All Christians, I was told, form a *mukwashi*.

4. *The Lunungu*

In my published vocabulary the word *lunungu* does not appear; but in my own interleaved copy there is this note: "*Lunungu*, seed, descendant; *imbuto* [seed] used in the same way: *nimbuto oya mukoa wabanini*, 'he is the seed of the clan of so-and-so'. In the New Testament I used the

word *chilu* at Luke 2:4: "he was of the . . . lineage [Greek, *patria*] of David". At Romans 9:7 I translated "seed of Abraham" by *balunungu kwa Abrahamu*. I now find that *lunungu* has meanings other than "seed". It is specifically the seed of pumpkin and melon; but also the long succulent branching stem of pumpkin and melon. By a natural association of ideas, it is extended to mean the human stem of a person's descendants. The word *lunungu* is apparently derived from *lunga*, "join end to end, elongate", and denotes "that which is prolonged in time or space".

Are we to accept *lunungu* as equivalent to "lineage"? It depends upon the definition of "lineage". It seems that anthropologists do not agree on this point. "From the sociologist's point of view," says Dr. Fortes (with special reference perhaps to the Tallensi) "a lineage is an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line." It is, in other words, a strictly unilineal, agnatic descent group. A lineage is not perpetuated by its women members but only by its male members. The Nuer lineage, according to Dr. Evans-Pritchard, responds to this definition. It is a group of agnates and comprises all living persons descended through males only from the founder of that particular line. These two authorities restrict "lineage" to the male line. Dr. Nadel, on the other hand, in his recent book on the Nuba, says: "By lineage we understand a kinship group based on a concrete and unbroken pedigree, traced back (frequently through few generations) to a remembered—not mythical—common ancestor"; and Dr. Kuper in her book on the Swazi defines "lineage" as "a unilateral line of kinsmen between whom genealogical relationship can be traced". These writers do not confine the lineage to a patriline. And Radcliffe-Brown protests against the idea that if a society recognizes lineage at all it can only recognize either patrilineal or matrilineal lineage—he calls it "an absurd notion". A matrilineal lineage, he says, consists of a woman and all her descendants through females for a determinate number of generations. "Lineages,

both patrilineal and matrilineal, exist implicitly in any kinship system, but it is only in some systems that the solidarity of the lineage group is an important feature in the social structure."

What then is the position among the Ila-speaking peoples? Do they recognize a lineage; and if so what is its social importance?

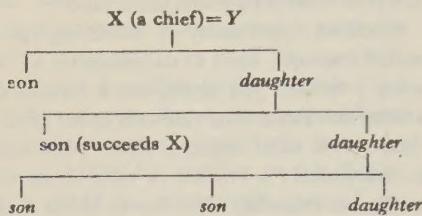
I had an opportunity of discussing the subject with Syezongo, chief of the Balumbu at Nanzela, who, I remind you again, are a foreign element among the Baila. The rule still holds good among them: "No chief begets a chief"; the succession is matrilineal: a brother or sister's son succeeds to the chieftainship. The line of chiefs at Nanzela is given to me as follows:

Kalenge
Syabalumbu
Shimata
Moofwe
Syacibinzya
Kauka, Syezongo I.
Syambala, Syezongo II.
Kacinka, Syezongo III.
Taausbili, Syezongo IV.
Syangubo, Syezongo V.
Ngulwa, Syezongo VI.
Syampale (Syimata), Syezongo VII.

The line of twelve chiefs goes back to Kalenge, who was the leader of the migration from the country of the Banyai in the present Southern Rhodesia. According to tradition he was not the real chief but the consort (*mukwetunga*) of Nabunsunka Kaziyampande, the chieftainess. Syezongo VII, the actual chief, said this line is *lunungu kwabama*; and how can this be rendered except as "lineage of my mother"? He distinguished between this line and the line of descent through males which he also called *lunungu*. He could trace this only to his grandfather Syavumpa. It was interesting to hear him say that in reality he is Syimata—the third in his mother's lineage—reborn. Syezongo is the title; Syampale is the name he is generally known by; but his real name is Syimata because he is Syimata. His personality as well as his status as chief derives from the matriline. I take it then that among these

Balumbu there is recognition of patrilineage and matrilineage; and that the matrilineage is a segment of the clan—the clan consisting of a number of actual lineages.

We may represent descent among the Balumbu as follows :



The *lunungu* is in italics : it descends through the females. For some reason I do not understand, the son of X-Y is not reckoned in the *lunungu*, nor is the son of their daughter, but her sons (their two grandsons) are so reckoned.

I had unfortunately no opportunity of discussing the question with chiefs and elders of the Baila proper. My informants were Native teachers—all very intelligent men and interested in the tribal customs.

In conversation with them I drew a hypothetical genealogy as follows :

Fm=Ef				
EM = 1f	Gm = 6f	Lf = 11m	Qf = 16m	
Dm = 2f	Hm = 7f	Mf = 12m	Rf = 17m	
Cm = 3f	Im = 8f	Nf = 13m	Sf = 18m	
Bm = 4f	Jm = 9f	Of = 14m	Tf = 19m	
Am = 5f	Km = 10f	Pf = 15m	Uf = 20m	

Here it is supposed that a man F marries E and that they have four children—two sons E and G, and two daughters L and Q. The sons marry women of clans other than their own—1 and 6; the daughters marry men of clans other than their own—11 and 16. It is supposed also, to simplify matters, that the descendants of the two sons are all males and the descendants of the two daughters are all females.

The wives 1-10 are not part of F's *lunungu*

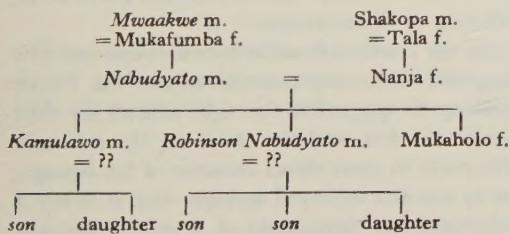
since they are not directly descended from him ; according to one informant they are collectively classed, perhaps out of politeness, as *mukwashi waka-F*, "F's family"; or, as another informant has it, *bamuka bana baka-F*, "wives of F's children". Since the male descendants of F—E-A, G-K—belong to the *mikoa* of their mothers, they cannot be of a single clan though they are of one *lunungu*. The husbands of F's daughters and of their descendants—11-15, 16-20—do not form part of the *lunungu* since they too are not direct descendants of F or E. But since in each generation the daughters take their mothers' clan-names they are all of the same clan, as they are also all of the same *lunungu*; the *lunungu* is a segment of the *mikoa*.

F is entitled *cizyazyi ca-lunungu*, "begetter of *lunungu*", or *ciske calunungu*, "origin of *lunungu*", or simply *mulengi*, "creator, initiator". He is the founding ancestor. It will be noticed that the impersonal prefix *ci-* is used here, not the personal *mu-*. While definitely, it seems, applied to a man *cizyazyi* means literally "thing which begets" and *ciske*, "thing initiated, given origin to". I think, however, that the *ci-* is augmentative or honorific, giving the sense "great begetter, great origin". It should be noted that the terms are relative in that any of F's sons or male descendants (or, according to some, his daughters and female descendants) may be progenitor (or progenitrix) of a *lunungu*; thus D-A may be regarded as *lunungu lwaka-E*, "E's lineage"; and C-A may be *lunungu lwaka-D* "D's lineage".

Theoretically, I suppose, the *lunungu* extends indefinitely upwards and downwards, but my informants are agreed that practically it has a time-depth of four generations. All later progeny are comprised in the term *luvubo*. This is also applied, according to some informants, to the descendants of F's daughters L and Q. The word is derived from the verb *vuba*, "to possess" and denotes "wealth, possessions". When it is said of some chief—as it was said of Shilumweemwe a legendary chief—that his *luvubo* is ended, it means that his lineage is extinct—his line has ceased. E, G, L, Q are F's children (*banakwe*) and refer to him as *ushesu*. They, (with F's wife or

wives), compose his *mukwashi* in the narrowest sense of the term the minimal lineage. D, H, M, R, are his grandchildren (*bazukuzhi bakwe*) and refer to him as also to his wife, as *nkambo* or *nkaka*. C, I, N, S, are his great-grandchildren (*tukala amabelo*) "the little ones who sit on the thighs" or *banuto bulyo*, "simply human beings". According to Ila classification, B, J, O, T are *banakwe F*, "F's children" and refer to him as *ushesu*, "our father". At this stage, says one of my informants, the relationship becomes "almost lost"; and in relation to F he says that A, K, P, U are merely *bashikamukoa*, "clansmen"—a use of the word *mukoa* that seems strange to me. He means, I take it, that the *lunungu* of F has, for all the people care, petered out. In the contrary direction, A calls B *tata*, "my father", and C *nkaka* or *nkambo*; if he thinks of him at all he will refer to D as *tata* also; but the rest of his ascendants he speaks of as *banashakale* or *bashikale*, "the ancients".

The question now arises whether each of the four descending lines—E-A, G-K, L-P, Q-U—is *lunungu lwaka-F*. Such lines can be spoken of in the plural (*inungu*) in English, branches of the lineage. But are they two or four? Here my informants disagree and I cannot reconcile their divergent views: that needs further inquiry. They agree in calling the two male lines—E-A, G-K, *lunungu lwaka-F*, i.e. patrilineages, but differ as to the female lines L-P, Q-U. The teachers Nabudyato and Lucheya stoutly maintain after prolonged questioning that there is no female *lunungu*—no matrilineage—among the Baila. Here is Nabudyato's genealogy:



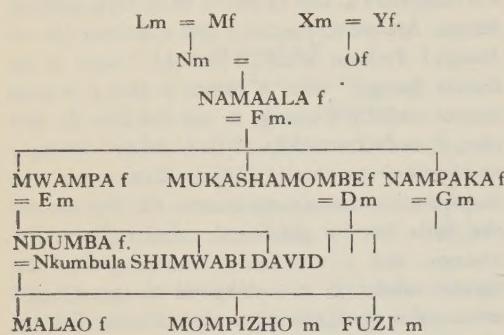
The *lunungu* is in italics. Here Mwaakwe begins a *lunungu*; his male descendants—his son Nabudyato, his two grandsons Kamulawo and

Robinson Nabulyato (my informant), and his three grandsons (not yet born) are all *lunungu lwaka-Mwaakwe*. The female descendants have no place in the *lunungu*. If Mukaholo married, her children would belong to her husband's *lunungu*. So in the hypothetical genealogy, the children of F's daughters L and Q would be of their father's *inungu*. Are we to conclude that a woman has no *lineage*? Perhaps when it is said "there is no female *lunungu*" what is meant is that a woman cannot transmit a lineage to her children. In that case, L and Q would be of their father's *lunungu*, not of their mother's, and could not pass the *lunungu* on to the next generation. On this scheme the Baila have a patrilineal descent-group, the *lunungu*, and a matrilineal descent-group, the *mukoa*, similar in some respects to the Ashanti *ntoro* and *mogya* (*abusua*) as described by Rattray—not by Hertskovitz. But the Baila (so far as I know) have not the same theoretical or metaphysical basis for the distinction; they do not identify the *lunungu*, as Akan identify the *ntoro*, with semen; nor the *mukoa* with menstrual blood as is the *mogya*. One could not apply the term "totemic spirit" to the Ila *lunungu*, as Rattray applies it to *ntoro*: no totems are associated with *lunungu*, nor is any ceremonial attached to it. *Lunungu* and *mukoa* may also remind us of the Herero patrilineal *oruzo* and matrilineal *eanda*; and of the Bakongo *luvila* and *kanda*; and the Yako *yeponama* and *lejuna*. The recognition of both lines of descent is very common.

But I must notice that Nkumbula, who has studied the life of his people, asserts that it is quite erroneous to say that there is no female *lunungu*—no matrilineage—among the Baila. The *Cizyzyi*, he says, is necessarily a woman: no man can ever be so called. The position of women in a *lunungu* is, he affirms, of vital importance; they have their place in it, and transmit it to their daughters. According to him there are matrilineal descent groups alongside the patrilineal. In our diagram, E the wife of F is the *cizyzyi*—the founding ancestor—and her daughters L and Q is each the head of a *lunungu*—L-P, Q-U, the line passing down through them: "the *lunungu* develops through the female children of the

common mother; each of her daughters starts her own *lunungu*, so says Nkumbula.

In illustration of this Nkumbula gives the genealogy of his wife Ndumba. He starts it with her grandmother Namaala, but we can carry it back two generations :



The *lunungu* of Ndumba starts with Y and comes down through O to Namaala who is *cizyazyi* of the three *inungu* begun by her daughters; so it descends to Ndumba and through her to her daughter Malao. Since each of these women takes her mother's clan-name, the *lunungu*—a matrilineage—is a segment of the *mukoa*. If I understand him aright, Nkumbula says that his son Fuzi, himself, his father, his grandfather and more remote ascendants constitute another *lunungu*—a patrilineage.

Here I must leave the matter for the present, hoping that further inquiry may enable us to reconcile the divergent views of my informants.

As for the social importance of the *lunungu*: it is an exogamous group, at least within certain limits. The children of F and E, G, L, Q are in the relationship of *bunina*; they are each *munina* to the others; and all persons in two subsequent generations who are *babunina* are forbidden to intermarry. The Balumbu are not so rigid in this matter as the Baila proper; thus they would allow D, the son of E, to marry M the daughter of L; they call her *mufyala*, not *munina*. Such a marriage would be strictly taboo among the Baila. Q's husband would be accepted in F's family as a son of F; one might say he becomes an honorary member of F's *lunungu*,

for none of his family may marry a person of that *lunungu*. The exogamous rule is disregarded as the *lunungu* spreads out into branches and twigs—proliferates I think is the right word—becomes attenuate and merges into *luvubo*: B and J could marry O and T. Such distant relations who marry call themselves *batwazyi* or *baluo*—they are no longer *babunina*. (A man's great-grandchildren refer to him as *muluo*.)

The *lunungu* has a religious function. In the *Ila-speaking Peoples* we quoted an Ila saying : *Pambala-pambala, muzhimo tokaki mwini*, the meaning of which is that an ancestral spirit does not refuse to listen to the prayers of his own people, that is to say, of his own *lunungu*. The implication is that he will not give heed to anyone outside that group. This rule does not apply to the communal divinities, such as Shimunenga at Maala. He was, we may suppose, the initiator of a *lunungu*; and so was worshipped by his own direct descendants; but the whole *chishi* unites to honour him in the yearly festival and to offer prayers through his representative.—I may note in passing that during my visit to Maala I was, at my request, accompanied by Mungaila, the chief, and by Shimunenga's representative—his priest—to the sacred grove. I had been told that Shimunenga was no longer "worshipped" at Maala; but the "priest" assured me that the people still assemble for the festival, as in my time. The grove is still there. The old "priest" added the interesting detail to the account we give in our book, that in old times the bodies of enemies killed in battle were, in addition to the heads of lions, deposited in the grove as an offering to Shimunenga.

In our book we describe how husband and wife approach their respective divinities—the former making his prayer on the right side of the door inside the hut, and the latter on the left side. He prays to some direct ancestor of his *lunungu*, or to one of a collateral *lunungu*—that is to say A addresses any descendant of E or G. His wife offers her prayer to ascendants of her *lunungu* and collateral *lunungu*—i.e. P will pray to descendants of L and Q—a fact which corroborates the statement that there is a female descent group.

It would be a serious fault on her part to approach her husband's ancestors, or for him to approach hers.

Reincarnation takes place in the *lunungu*, some ancestor returning in the flesh at the moment of conception. If the diviner on applying the usual tests, declares that a new-born male infant begotten by A is E or D or C, the child is given that ancestor's name and honoured as E or D or C was in his previous sojourn on earth. In the same way a woman's daughter may be declared to be a member of her *lunungu*. But there seems to be some uncertainty in the matter. Nkumbula says that the mother's ancestor has the prior claim to be reborn. His sister has two names. At first it was proved that her mother's uncle had come back in her person—for males can return as females. Her father, however, demurred and she was given the name of her father's grandmother. Do two names indicate that two ancestors are reborn in a single infant? That is a metaphysical question that Nkumbula does not profess to answer.

According to one of my informants there is an exception to the rule that prayers are offered by man and wife only to their own ancestors. If the diviner says that the son of A is E reborn then A's wife (mother of A's son) is allowed to *paila* (make prayers and offerings to) E, who though reborn in the flesh is still in the spirit world and is the child's guardian. The reason given me is that the child has brought together the *lunungu* of its father and the *lunungu* of its mother.

5. *The Chilu*

One other term claims attention, viz. *cilu*. In my published vocabulary I entered *ciliulu* and *chilu* as separate words—differing in tone—the

former denoting "site of a destroyed house" and the latter "a family, clan, race". I am told now that there are not two words but only one. The Baila say that *itongo* is the site of a deserted village or group of villages; and *cilu* is specifically that part of an *itongo* where the houses actually stood. Further, it is the place of origin of the *cizyazyi calunungu*, whether the place is still occupied or not; all his *luvubo* will speak of it as *cilu cesu*, "our ancestral home". Again, *cilu* is said to be the parcel of land held by a family (*mukwashi*) in the narrow sense. They have the usufruct of it. The Chief would not appropriate it for himself nor grant it to anyone who was not of the *lunungu* to which the holder belongs without the consent of that *lunungu*. The *lunungu* may resign rights in the land or transfer rights in the land to other people, perhaps for a consideration. This association of a *lunungu* with land is a subject worthy of further investigation.

One informant says that *cilu* comprises all the descendants of a man beyond his grandchildren, i.e. in our hypothetical genealogy C, B, A are *bacilu caka-F*, "they of F's *cilu*"; but others say that this is to confound *cilu* with *luvubo*.

Chilu, I am told, also denotes all the subjects of a headman (not a chief), i.e. it is a territorial as distinct from a kinship group. The headman may adopt a slave—if young, as his "son", if middle-aged as his "brother", if older than himself as his "father". When the headman dies the adopted "father" may "eat the name", i.e. succeed to the headman's office. By adoption he has been taken into the headman's *lunungu* and when he succeeds as headman may be the head of that *lunungu*. But he cannot start a *lunungu* of his own; his descendants will be *bacilu cakamwami wa-X*, "the people of the *cilu* of the chief of X", X being the name of the place.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS ON CYRENAICA

PART III (CONCLUSION)

E. E. EVANS-PRICHARD

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L'HABITATION CHEZ LES NKUNDU DU TERRITOIRE D'OSHWE, CONGO BELGE

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I. CONSTRUCTIONS PROVISOIRES ET SPECIALES

Emplacement des Villages. — Il semble que les membres de cette tribu aient toujours préféré s'installer dans la forêt ou à la lisière de la forêt, à proximité d'une source. C'était autrefois le *nkumu ya ntoto* (chef de terre) qui déterminait l'emplacement du nouveau village — les migrations avaient lieu au moins tous les dix ans — le délimitait et y plantait l'arbre ou le groupe d'arbres sacrés auquel on ne devait toucher sous aucun prétexte. L'importance de ce personnage a beaucoup diminué avec l'occupation européenne qui fixe l'emplacement des villages ; mais le respect des arbres est encore intact. A Nkao, lorsque l'Administrateur a voulu améliorer le plan du village et y tracer des routes perpendiculaires, il a été forcé de s'arrêter devant l'enclos du chef de terre et lui octroyer une plus grande parcelle afin de ne pas toucher aux arbres qu'il aurait voulu sacrifier.

Constructions provisoires. — Nous en avons vu un type en forêt destiné à loger les travailleurs de la route Oshwe-Nkao, et un autre type à Nkao, affecté à des familles déplacées dans le remaniement du village. Les abris de forêt sont des espèces de hangars à peine rectangulaires, fermés sur trois faces, avec une toiture à deux pans sans tirants. Ils mesurent environ 3 m. x 3 m. 50, sur une hauteur maximum d'à peu près. 2 m. 50. La charpente est constituée par de simples tiges de bois, encore recouvertes d'écorce, fichées en terre ou bien disposées horizontalement ou obliquement. Le toit et les murs sont en grandes feuilles de *nkongo* (les mêmes qui servent à envelopper les pains de manioc) disposées sur une légère armature en bambou. Tous les assemblages s'effectuent à l'aide de lianes

nkori, séparées de leur écorce et refendues à la grosseur voulue. Soit dit en passant, c'est dans des abris similaires que les agents territoriaux doivent quelquefois loger, eux aussi, durant la construction des routes. Ces abris sont le plus souvent meublés d'un ou deux "lits" en rondins disposés sur quatre pieux plantés en terre.

Les cases provisoires sont à peu près de mêmes dimensions et de même structure, mais leur construction est plus soignée et elles sont complètement fermées. Les tiges sont dépouillées de leur écorce ; on ne se contente plus de n'importe quelle essence : on va chercher les bois les plus solides, comme s'il s'agissait d'habitations permanentes. Entre les poteaux principaux, on en dispose d'autres, tous les 50 cm. environ, et on place horizontalement des tiges de bambou plus ou moins rapprochées sur lesquelles on liera les feuilles de *ndwa* ou de *nkongo*. La toiture possède également une armature de bambous beaucoup plus rapprochés, recouverte comme les cloisons de grandes ou de petites feuilles.

Sur l'une des façades en pignon, on aménage une petite porte à 50 cm. du sol. Son battant, unique et transportable, peut se fermer de l'extérieur à l'aide de lianes quand les occupants veulent s'absenter, ou de l'intérieur à l'aide de lianes et de bâtons formant verrou. Ce battant, en bambou et en lianes, est quelquefois relativement épais : les panneaux de lianes, assemblées suivant un motif de vannerie plus ou moins compliqué, peuvent être doublés de grandes lamelles de bambou, verticales liées par endroits par un point de chaînette horizontal en lianes. Le propriétaire l'emportera avec lui dans sa maison définitive. A l'intérieur de la case provisoire, on trouve un ou deux lits de rondin sur pieux, comme dans l'abri de forêt.

Constructions Spéciales. — Nous passons sous

silence les diverses constructions édifiées sous les ordres des Européens, généralement par des ouvriers étrangers à la localité, comme les écoles, églises, tribunaux, et maisons de chefs.

Il n'y a pas de cuisine. Nous avons vu pendant la journée les femmes installer trois grosses pierres rondes, en limonite rouge polie, qui constituent le foyer devant la maison ou dans la première pièce. Le soir, on fait un feu de bois dans les pièces où l'on couche, parce que les nuits sont froides pour le Noir, qui dort nu sur une natte, et pour ses petits chiens de chasse également très frileux. Ce foyer sert à la fois d'éclairage et de chauffage. Pour l'allumer, on emploie des tisons tirés du feu perpétuel, sauf dans les villages situés près des centres européanisés.

Poulailler. — Plusieurs huttes possèdent un poulailler en annexe. C'est une habitation provisoire en modèle réduit. Il n'y a pas de pondoir, la ménagère ramasse les oeufs que les poules déposent où elles veulent. Elle les réunit dans un panier quand elle veut qu'une poule couve. A Nkao, nous avons vu un enclos pour les chèvres où on les enferme pendant la nuit afin de les traire le matin ; mais ceci est d'origine récente et d'inspiration européenne.

Hangar pour les réunions. — Ils sont constitués par des poteaux soutenant une toiture en feuilles. On y voit pour tout ameublement quelques chaises ou chaises longues.

Forge. — C'est un petit hangar ouvert, de la dimension d'une hutte provisoire. On y trouve un soufflet, une enclume et plusieurs marteaux. Il y a toujours aussi une certaine quantité de petits pots et divers blocs de métal.

II. CONSTRUCTIONS DEFINITIVES

La hutte qui servira à l'indigène d'habitation permanente est rectangulaire. Le type le plus courant a 3 m. 50 x 7 m. 30 et comprend deux pièces à peu près carrées de mêmes dimensions. Dans un type de hutte plus petite, seule la chambre à coucher est carrée. Dans un type de hutte plus grande (très rare) la première pièce est carrée et la chambre à coucher a une longueur double de sa largeur.

La hutte est le plus souvent disposée perpendiculairement à la rue. Dans ce cas, la première pièce a sa façade sur rue complètement ouverte, elle est séparée de la seconde par une cloison percée sur le côté d'une petite porte à 50 cm. environ au-dessus du sol. Chez les Nkundu, il n'y a aucune ouverture extérieure dans cette seconde pièce, tandis que chez les Batwa (pygmées) il y a toujours une porte derrière, face à la forêt, permettant de s'esquiver rapidement en cas d'alerte. L'habitation peut aussi être disposée parallèlement à la rue. Dans ce cas, elle est d'habitude composée de deux pièces complètement fermées, avec une porte de communication entre elles, et une porte extérieure sur la rue. Toutes les portes sont à seuil surélevé.

Voici une description de maison du premier type, la seconde paraissant être une simple variation du modèle original. L'aire de la hutte est surélevée et faite de terre battue. Sur cette aire, on plante les poteaux, simples tiges de bois dépouillées de leur écorce et entaillées à leur extrémité supérieure. Les trois poteaux centraux, sur lesquels reposera la poutre faîtière du toit, ont à peu près 3 m. de haut, les poteaux latéraux de 1 m. 50 à 1 m. 75. Ils sont reliés par deux poutres parallèles à la poutre faîtière. La charpente du toit à deux pans est des plus simples : il suffit d'attacher des tiges de bois par des lianes servant d'arbalétriers de chaque côté des poteaux centraux, au-dessous de la poutre faîtière. Ces tiges de bois relieront les poteaux centraux aux poteaux latéraux, au-dessus des poutres latérales. Toutes les poutres dépassent les poteaux, et tous les arbalétriers dépassent légèrement les poutres de façon que la toiture protège convenablement la maison.

Dans une maison située à Bayelo et arrivée à ce premier stade de la construction, nous avons vu le couvreur installé sur le toit qui disposait des chevrons entre les arbalétriers et des bambous parallèlement aux poutres, afin de supporter la toiture en feuillage. La toiture en feuillage *nde* est la plus appréciée parce qu'elle est la plus durable ; dans le cas où les autres matériaux font défaut on emploie le *nkongo* qui nécessite un réseau très serré de bambous, et de plus, se recourbe et se fendille très facilement.

Quand la maison est couverte, on s'occupe de la ferme. Pour cela, on place des poteaux secondaires plus grêles, et on dispose les bambous, qui constitueront l'armature, en ménageant la porte de la chambre à coucher entre le poteau central et l'un des poteaux secondaires de la cloison. Parois et cloison sont ensuite recouverts d'argile et blanchis. Comme pour la hutte provisoire, tous les assemblages sont faits à l'aide de lianes.

Les Européens essaient d'introduire l'usage de la fenêtre et celui de la véranda, mais sans grand succès jusqu'à présent. Cependant, nous avons vu à Nkao une maison de ce type construite par des jeunes gens revenus d'une école missionnaire.

Dans chacune de deux pièces, on remarque le plus souvent un ou deux lits de terre battue disposés dans le sens de la longueur de la hutte. Ces lits sont quelquefois décorés de ronds imprimés semblables à des traces de bouchons de bouteille de bière. Ils sont presque toujours recouverts de nattes en vannerie de dessins divers, de la dimension des lits (à peu près 50 cm. x 2 m. 50). Dans la première pièce, ouverte sur le devant, les lits servent de bancs ou de lits de repos pendant la journée et ont souvent un dossier en bois composé de deux montants (pieux fichés dans l'aire) et d'une traverse. On peut voir parfois, mais rarement, dans cette pièce un petit cube de terre battue servant de siège. Les hommes, surtout les célibataires, et les garçonnets, peuvent coucher sur ces lits de la première pièce, mais les femmes et les enfants en bas âge dorment toujours dans la seconde pièce.

Pendant la journée, la porte est la plupart du temps béante ; il n'y a presque pas de battants en bambou visibles. Serait-ce afin de favoriser l'aération ? Nous avons remarqué à Bayelo deux maisons munies de rideaux de bambous : lattes horizontales d'un centimètre de large, reliées par des rangées verticales de points de chaînette en liane.

Un ménage de monogames se contente d'une seule hutte, sauf quand il a beaucoup d'enfants. En ce dernier cas, le père bâtit une seconde hutte pour lui et pour ses fils ainés. Dans les ménages polygames, le mari bâtit une hutte pour chaque femme, à proximité de la sienne si possible. Il peut également habiter à tour de rôle chez chacune d'elles.

On détruit la hutte quand son propriétaire meurt, sauf dans le cas où la veuve préfère y résider.

III. MOBILIER

A Bayelo et à Yembe, certaines huttes ont une petite table de bois et une chaise longue (chaise "transatlantique" dont la toile a été remplacée par une natte) ou bien un fauteuil en osier. D'autres ont une chaise pliante en bois. On voit encore dans les demeures de grandes cuvettes en fer émaillé du genre de celle que les femmes de la capitale du Congo Belge emploient pour le transport des marchandises et le bain des enfants. A Looma, il y a deux ou trois chaises pliantes en tout. A Nkao, il y a quelques chaises et chaises longues. Tous ces articles, bien entendu, sont de fabrication européenne.

Dans les villages de pygmoides Batwa, rien de semblable.

Les divers articles servant à la préparation des repas sont souvent exposés devant les huttes ou dans la première pièce : un petit pot à fond rond, de hauteur à peu près égale au diamètre (20 cm. environ) pour la cuisson des légumes ; un plateau de bois sur lequel on bat ces légumes avec une baguette ; une ou deux calebasses à col pour le transport de l'eau et des autres liquides ; plus rarement, une espèce de gril en poterie pour la viande et le poisson. D'autre part, on voit souvent par terre les articles servant à préparer les pains de manioc, dits *chikwangu* : le mortier à écraser le manioc (section de tronc d'arbre évidé d'un côté) deux ou trois pilons, un ou deux pots de 60 cm. de haut (à fond plat ou rond) pour la cuisson des *chikwangu*.

Les poteries sont toutes fabriquées par les femmes. Il n'y a pas de potière attitrée bien que certaines femmes soient plus habiles à ce travail que les autres. Elles se servent d'argile plastique mélangée à la terre de petites termitières ; elles pilonnent le tout additionné d'eau et travaillent à la main sans l'aide daucun tour. Quand l'objet a pris forme, elles le font sécher et l'installent ensuite entre les trois pierres du foyer pour le faire cuire. Aucun des spécimens examinés ne portait la moindre décoration, les poteries à fond rond sont d'ailleurs des plus primitives : ce sont

(Photos: Jean Comhaire, juin 1945)



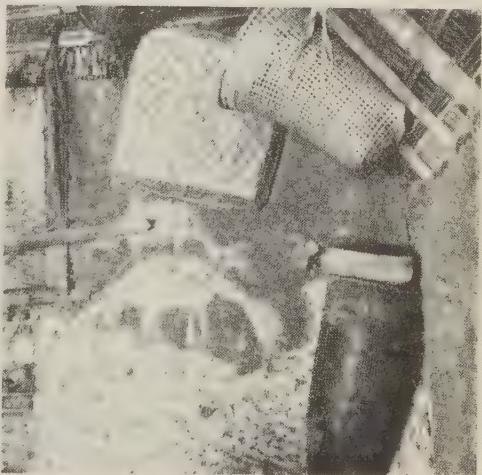
Type d'habitation Nkundu, Territoire d'Oshwe
(Oongo Belge).
Photo JEAN COMHAIRE



Construction d'un toit à Nkao.
Photo JEAN COMHAIRE



Type de foyer et poterie à Nkao.
Photo JEAN COMHAIRE



Intérieur d'une hutte Batwa (pygmées) à Lokongo.
Photo JEAN COMHAIRE

les représentations agrandies du nid de certaines mouches maçonnnes.

Les articles de ménage en bois (pilons, mortiers, plateaux) sont fabriqués par les hommes. Quant aux calebasses, on enlève les fruits à maturité, on les laisse tremper dans l'eau une quinzaine de jours, puis on les sèche au soleil avant de les vider.

La plus grande partie de ces richesses est accrochée dans la première pièce de la hutte : paniers, calebasses, filets, etc. Dans la seconde pièce l'indigène garde les objets qui lui tiennent particulièrement à cœur : paniers et calebasses, peut-être les mêmes en apparence, mais de contenu différent.

A Nkao, nous avons remarqué au plafond de la première pièce d'une case : trois hottes pour le transport du bois de chauffage et des carottes de manioc, de 60 à 70 cm. de haut, deux autres hottes à manioc de mêmes dimensions mais de modèle différent, et une hotte de voyage un peu plus petite. Ce dernier type est employé par les femmes qui transportent leurs effets et provisions pour aller danser. Toutes ces hottes sont suspendues par leur lanière de cuir ou d'écorce. En voyage, on les porte suspendues au front, contrairement à l'usage du territoire voisin de Kutu, où on les porte fixées aux épaules. Le dispositif employé dans le territoire d'Oshwe est rendu possible parce que les mères Nkundu portent leurs enfants sur le côté, tandis que leurs voisines, les Basakata, les portent sur le dos, juchés sur la hotte.

D'autres paniers vides, de même forme que les hottes, sont accrochés au plafond, soit directement, sur des bambous dépassants, soit au moyen de cordes. Des paniers à peu près semblables aux hottes à manioc, avec fond canné à trous d'environ 1 cm. de diamètre, sont employés pour la pêche en saison sèche : on installe des barrages dans les petits cours d'eau de la forêt et on verse dans les paniers l'eau ainsi retenue, qu'on puise à l'aide de grandes timbales en vannerie. L'eau s'écoule par les trous du fond et le poisson est arrêté.

La même hutte peut encore contenir trois arcs, un carquois en cuir, huit à dix calebasses contenant divers liquides (eau, bière de canne à sucre, huile de palme), et deux grands paniers

plats à fond carré utilisés dans la préparation des *chikwangues*. Pour manger, l'assiette indigène est un petit panier plat en vannerie. Un petit panier à couvercle de la hauteur de la main contient le sel mélangé de poivre (*pili pili*).

L'énumération précédente est le contenu de la première pièce d'une case prise à titre d'exemple, mais elle est loin d'englober tous les échantillons de l'industrie indigène. Diverses sortes de filets sont employés pour la chasse, leur longueur dépend de leur âge car le fils est tenu d'ajouter quelques rangées de mailles au filet légué par son père. A Yembe, le filet pour la chasse aux petites antilopes mesure près de vingt mètres de long et un autre, plus grand encore, sert à la chasse aux grandes antilopes. A côté de ces filets pour la chasse collective, qu'on ne trouve qu'à un ou deux exemplaires par village, il y a des petits filets pour la chasse individuelle aux rongeurs et des filets de pêche.

Dans quelques huttes, on voit par terre le panier à *ngula* (écorce rouge servant de fard) des dimensions de l'assiette indigène, et un grand panier plat suspendu au plafond contenant plusieurs autres paniers à couvercles de dimensions variées, les plus grands d'entre eux servant aux *chikwangues* et aux vivres, les plus petits aux colliers, à l'argent européen, au sel, au poisson et à la viande. Les effets d'habillement sont contenus dans des hottes suspendues dans la seconde pièce.

Ces objets de vannerie proviennent du travail des femmes. Cependant, lorsqu'un village Nkundu tient sous sa dépendance un village Batwa, les femmes Nkundu préfèrent échanger leurs pots, qui se font rapidement et sans fatigue, contre les nattes et paniers fabriqués par les Batwa. Les hommes se chargent de fabriquer et de réparer cordes, ficelles et filets. Ils emploient à cet effet des lianes et des fibres. Les arcs et les flèches sont aussi de fabrication locale. Les lances et couteaux proviennent des villages qui ont une forge, Yembe par exemple.

En 1945, les Européens ont distribué divers modèles de casseroles en fer émaillé. Peut-être sera-ce le commencement d'une ère nouvelle si les ménagères Nkundu éprouvent le besoin de remplacer ces objets quand ils seront usés.

SOUTH AFRICAN PEASANT ARCHITECTURE

Nguni Folk Building

JAMES WALTON

THE framework of the *mohlongoa-fatse*, as employed by the Southern Sotho of Basutoland is not confined to that country. An identical structure is met with among the Nguni of the Cape where existing evidence indicates that it was formerly the usual dwelling of these tribes. The Vundle branch of the Bafokeng, who left Ntsuanatsatsi to live with the Xhosa peoples of the Transkei and settled in the Mjanyane Valley of South Basutoland in 1848, still retain this hut type (*ngqu-pantsi*) for certain purposes. When a son of a chief is about to be married he builds such a hut on the extreme left of the semi-circular kraal. In this the bride lives until the marriage ceremony is completed and the newly married couple occupy it until a more substantial structure is erected or until the son leaves his father's kraal to establish his own kraal elsewhere.

The *ngqu-pantsi* consists of a ring of stakes whose tops are bent inwards to a point and which are bound together by concentric hoops in exactly the same manner as the *mohlongoa-fatse* (PLATE I, FIG. a). Over this framework is laid a covering of grass which is secured by means of a loose network of grass rope comparable to that employed by the Southern Sotho for their *le-phephe* (PLATE I, FIG. b). Certain lengths of rope stretch like the spokes of a wheel from the apex to the ground, where they are either secured to a large hoop of saplings, fastened to the upright stakes, or they are anchored by heavy stones which form a low foundation wall around the base of the hut. The network is completed by latitudinal circles of rope which are knotted at their junctions to the radial lengths. A low arched doorway, from 3 to 4 feet in height, is covered at night by a hide stretched over a wooden frame-

work. Inside, the floor and walls, to a height of about six feet, are smeared with a mixture of clay and dung. A raised circular rim in the centre of the floor serves as a hearth which assumes an importance comparable to the hearths of the Natal Nguni. The right hand side of the Vundle hut, as one enters, is reserved for men and the left side for women. A wife will sleep on the same side as her husband, except during menstruation, but a daughter-in-law will never sit on the men's side in her father-in-law's hut. The delightful protective cappings of the Natal Nguni are rarely met with in the south although forked sticks are driven into the thatch as a protection against lightning. Chief Maama Vova, chief of the Vundle, asserts that this is the traditional dwelling of his people.

An identical hut was formerly widespread amongst the Xhosa. "In nomadic times, during those times when the tribes were migrating, the construction of the huts was of the simplest kind. They were of one pattern, *Ngqu-Pantsi* (Bang Down). These may still be occasionally seen, but have been largely superseded by more permanent kinds. The skeleton of this hut is formed of saplings stuck upright in the ground and bound along with cross saplings at intervals of a couple of feet between each row, to a height of about seven feet. The ends of the upright saplings are then bent inwards towards the centre to form the roof. These are bound together, and the rings of cross saplings are continued to the top. This being completed, grass of a tall reedy variety called *i-Dobo* is sewn or thatched on in layers of considerable thickness to the whole hut from top to bottom by ropes of plaited grass or wood bast. Then a coating of mud, mixed with the droppings of

cattle to give it toughness, is plastered all over the inside to a height of about six feet up. This is then smoothed down by a top dressing of liquid mud after the first rough coating has dried. This gives the walls a smooth surface, filling up any cracks which may have formed in the first coating." (SOGA, J. H.: *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs*, 1931, p. 409.) The same construction is used for the circumcision lodge, *i-Tonto*, but the walls are not smeared inside.

The subsequent development of the *ngqu-pantsi* followed similar trends among all the Cape Nguni tribes but whether this was a normal evolutionary process sponsored by a desire for increased living space or whether the penetration of the "rondavel" type resulted in an attempted emulation it is impossible to determine. All the essentials of a progressive evolution can be traced, however, even in districts where the "rondavel" is not found. In the first stage the *ngqu-pantsi* framework was retained but vertical walls of earth or stone were built around the framework to a height of five or six feet (PLATE I, FIG. d). Later a cylindrical earth or stone wall, about seven or eight feet high, was built and saplings were driven into the top of the wall. These saplings were then bent over to form a dome-shaped roof similar in construction to the *ngqu-pantsi* (PLATE I, FIG. c). This may be considered as the typical Southern Nguni dwelling for it is found amongst the Xhosa, Fingo, Pandomise, Thembu, Vundle and, in fact, all the Transkei peoples. Only within the present century have the true conical-roofed "rondavel", *rontawuli*, and the rectangular European dwelling replaced the dome-roofed *isi-Tembiso*.

The thatching is exactly the same as that of the *ngqu-pantsi* but the method of securing the radial ropes varies. Among the Vundle huts with a *ngqu-pantsi* framework and low vertical walls a ring of saplings or grass rope passes round the thatch at a point level with the top of the wall and this is sewn to the stakes of the framework. All the radial ropes are then fastened to this hoop which thus firmly holds the network over the thatch. Below the hoop the thatch projects considerably to give a wide, shady eave

(PLATE I, FIG. d). In the *isi-Tembiso* variety the thatch rarely projects much beyond the wall and the radial ropes are either secured to wooden pegs driven in the wall around its upper perimeter (PLATE I, FIG. c) or to a sapling hoop as previously described. The dome-shaped roof does not require a finishing cap but sticks are occasionally stuck in the top as a protection against lightning whilst among the Xhosa a plant, *ntelezi*, is planted in a quantity of soil on the roof top where "it grows undisturbed and conveys to the inmates of the hut a feeling of confidence and safety, which ignorance alone can justify" (SOGA, J. H.: *op. cit.*, p. 216.)

The "rondavel" has in recent years encroached on the traditional Nguni types. In general structure it conforms to the Southern Sotho "rondavel" already described. The walls are usually constructed of earth blocks and taper inwards slightly towards the top. The roof has a tidy sewn thatch with a neat conical capping. The conical roof framework is often made on the ground and lifted onto the walls after the manner of the Thonga and many Sotho tribes. Much use is made of natural ochres in decorating the walls. A white or light coloured band often extends completely round the top of the wall for a depth of from six inches to a foot. Among the Bhaca and Hlubi this band does not pass completely round the hut; it terminates in a border to the small windows which are a common feature of these huts and also extends down each side of the doorway (PLATE I, FIG. e).

The doorways also shew a progressive development commencing with the arched opening of the *ngqu-pantsi* which is so low that one must crawl on hands and knees to enter and which is closed by a hide or reed screen. The Vundle *rontawuli* serves as the next type. The doorway is still lower than the height of a man and it is approached by one or two steps leading up to a floor above the level of the surrounding ground. The peculiar feature of these doorways is the way in which they widen out in the middle and narrow towards the top and bottom. I have been unable to ascertain the reason for this but it seems probable that it was done originally to prevent animals from entering

the hut in the same way as some stiles in England are narrow at the bottom and widen out towards the top. Finally a normal doorway, high enough to admit a man, is found in the true "rondavel" hut types.

The doorway opening in the most primitive cases is closed by a hide or wattle screen barred on the inside. The first true door type is also a wattle screen which is "harr-hung"; that is to say it is pivotted on two spikes, one fitting into a hollow in the ground and the other into a hole in the lintel of the door frame. It seems unlikely that the "harr-hung" door is a normal African innovation; it is a form of door hanging known by the ancient Egyptians and Etruscans and it was apparently introduced into South Africa from the north or from the east coast. It is distributed widely among tribes along the eastern coastal belt of Africa. The halved-door, introduced by early Cape Dutch settlers, and the solid hinged door are both commonly used to-day.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal in detail with the arrangement of huts in the settlement and among the Cape Nguni this arrangement is not always clearly defined. Each household, *umzi*, exists as a separate entity with its huts arranged in a semi-circle around the cattle kraal. The principal hut faces the entrance to the kraal and usually occupies the central position. "The first wife married is always the principal wife, *inkosikazi*, except in the case of a chief, whose principal wife is often chosen only after he is well established in the chieftainship. . . . Among the other wives, one other stands out in the typical polygynous household. She is the 'right-hand wife', *umfazi wasekunene*, so called from the position of her huts in the household, the Xhosa counting right and left from the point of view of a person who looks out of the hut door towards the cattle kraal." (HOERNLE, A. WINIFRED, in SCHAPERA, I.: *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, 1946 edition, p. 75.)

But this relative position of the huts is not always maintained and the subsidiary huts "whilst observing the semi-circular contour of the residential quarters at intervals, by their position do not declare their status. For instance, the right

hand house, which is next in importance to the principal house, may be either to the right or left of the principal one, and so also with the others. Their position is mainly a matter of convenience for the head of the family and to a certain extent is determined by the time when the different wives were married, for as is often the case, the most important wives according to status are married later than the less important ones and thus the latter have priority in choice of site". (SOGA, J. H.: *op.cit.*, p.408.) This is also true among the Vundle where the right hand wife and the subsidiary wives of Chief Vova all dwell to the left of the group of huts belonging to the principal wife.

The huts of the Natal Nguni and Swazi bear a superficial resemblance to those of the Southern Sotho and Cape Nguni already described but the framework, which is constructed by the men, shows a very definite difference. Instead of the circular ring of stakes being bent over to meet at a point, among the Natal Nguni they are bent over into semi-circular arches, two sets of which cross each other at right angles (PLATE II, FIG. a). This is a very different construction from that of stakes bent to meet at the apex and secured by concentric hoops.

The thatching of the framework is the work of the women and, especially among the tribes living under the Drakensbergs, it often reaches a very high standard. The framework is covered with grass, *ukufulelu*, which is secured by a network of plaited grass rope, *izintambo*. A few inches from the ground a thick grass rope, *umphetho*, passes round the hut and this is firmly secured to the struts of the framework, *izintungo*. Other thick grass ropes radiate from the apex and are fastened at intervals of from six inches to a foot to the *umphetho*. The network is then completed by a series of closely-spaced concentric ropes passing around the thatch and knotted to the radiating ropes already fixed. This provides a very neat, efficient and ornamental covering which is usually surmounted by a carefully fashioned finial, *ingqongwana*.

The technique of rope network thatching appears to have reached its culminating develop-

ment among the Nguni tribes living on the eastern slopes and foothills of the Drakensbergs but there are several variations. In some cases the *umphetho* is made of saplings and the rope network may terminate about one third of the way up (PLATE II, FIGS. d and e). In many instances too, both in Zululand proper (PLATE III, FIG. a) and in Swaziland (PLATE III, FIG. b) the thatch may be secured by concentric ropes only, each being fastened at the ends to a single rope secured by wooden pegs driven into the thatch. Where withes are available plaited bands of these are sometimes used instead of grass rope, and they may be secured to the framework by taking alternate withes underneath the *izintungo*, thus providing a very strong roof covering indeed (PLATE III, FIG. e).

Normally the entrance is a low arched opening some three feet high, through which it is necessary to crawl in order to enter the hut. This may be closed by a hide, a wicker screen secured from the inside with a cross-stick (PLATE III, FIGS. a and c) or a hinged wooden door. The entrance to the Swazi hut is protected by a porch of arched saplings, *umpheme*, (PLATE III, FIG. b) comparable to the *mathule* of the Southern Sotho and found also in the Ngora district of Uganda (PLATE IV, FIG. b) and amongst the Bantu tribes of the Congo (PLATE IV, FIG. c). Such porches appear to be characteristic of the early Bantu tribes which settled in Central and Southern Africa prior to the Bantu invasions which brought the "rondavel" type.

The subsequent development of the Natal Nguni hut followed the same trends as already outlined for the Southern Sotho *mohlongoa-fatse* and the Cape Nguni *ngqu-pantsi*. The beehive framework was retained but low vertical mud walls were built around it (PLATE II, FIGS. c and e) giving a form almost identical with that of the Cape Nguni.

The interior of the Natal Nguni hut is divided into a man's side, on the right when entering (PLATE III, FIG. g(g)) and a woman's side (FIG. g(h)). The floor is smeared and occasionally highly polished. In the centre is a circular raised rim forming the hearth, *iziko*, (PLATE III, FIGS. g

(c) and h(c)), flanked on each side by raised "wings", *izimpundu* (PLATE III, FIGS. g(b) and h(b)). Upright stakes, *izinsika*, (FIGS. g(a) and k(a)), are embedded in the ground at the ends of the *izimpundu*. These carry a number of curved posts, *imishayo* (PLATE III, FIG. h(1)) which support the roof. In a large hut other upright posts are also added for the same purpose. The space above this framework, immediately over the hearth, is known as the *ithala* (PLATE III, FIG. h(1)) and here mealie cobs are preserved in the smoke of the fire which quickly blackens the entire roof. Around the hearth may be seen shallow depressions in the floor (PLATE III, FIG. g(d)) in which the round-bottomed earthenware pots rest. At the back of the hut is a raised platform, the *umsamo* (PLATE III, FIGS. g(e) and h(e)), on which the pots are stored when not in use; the equivalent of the Southern Sotho *mahaoloana*. Occasionally a crude shelf is built above the *umsamo* (PLATE III, FIG. h(f)) for keeping meal and personal belongings. Objects such as assegais, hoes, knives and gouges are stuck in the thatch.

In front of each hut is a circular courtyard (PLATE III, FIG. g(j)) sheltered from view by a high rush screen, *iguma*. In the space immediately around the hut and courtyard, *ibala*, (PLATE III, FIG. g(k)), medicine is dug into the ground to protect the hut against evil influences. When the hut site is marked out three pegs or horns of medicine are buried at points marking the entrance, the *umsamo* and the hearth; these serve as a protection against lightning and wizards. Medicine, *izintelezi*, is sprinkled over the hut on completion and before it is inhabited. Sticks are stuck in the *ingqongwana* as a protection against lightning whilst larger sticks, having special properties of the same type, are normally kept inside the hut except when it is lightning. Then they are taken outside and placed on the huts and cattle kraal.

The Natal Nguni huts are arranged in a complete circle around the kraal, the whole being traditionally surrounded by a thorny fence, *uthango*. The huts of the "great wife" are at the far side of the circle facing the main entrance,

isango. These comprise the big hut, *indlunkulu*, with its kitchen, *ixhiba*, on the left side, the Natal Nguni considering left and right from the point of view of a person looking at the huts from the kraal. Between the kitchen and the great hut is the food store, *ingolobane*. Within this store hut are a number of circular wickerwork containers each resting on a raised platform of branches and covered with a conical thatch. Mealie cobs are stored within these *izilulu*, the largest cobs being placed at the bottom. To the right of the big hut are the huts of the sons and daughters of the "great wife", placed at such a distance away that the noise of the young people will not disturb the occupants of the big hut. To the left of this main group of huts are those of the *ikholo*, the first married wife of the head of the kraal, together with the huts of other subordinate wives still further to the left. On the right of the *indlunkulu* are the huts of the *inQadi*. There are slight variations from tribe to tribe but these three main groups invariably occupy the positions indicated in the *umuzi*.

The main entrance, where an outer fence exists, is flanked by two stout upright posts, *izigxoba*, across which horizontal poles are placed at night. The centre of the *umuzi* is occupied by a circular cattle kraal, *isibaya*, in which the court, *ibandla*, is held. Calf and goat enclosures are attached to the main kraal in front of the *indlunkulu*. Within the kraal are also to be found the grain pits, *izingungu*. These are pits, some six feet deep, covered with flat stone slabs, sealed with cow dung and hidden under a covering of earth.

ANALOGOUS HUT TYPES

The hut whose fundamental framework consists of a circle of pliant stakes bent over to meet at a point or to form a series of semi-circular arches has already been noted among the Southern Sotho and Nguni tribes but its distribution is much more widespread. Either as a relic survival or as the normal dwelling type it still extends over the whole of southern Africa and the "rondavel" is undoubtedly a later intrusion into this area.

Reference has been made to the Bushman huts seen by Veldt-Cornet A. Venter in 1823 between Aliwal North and Herschel which were pointed at the top and covered with a thatch secured by grass ropes. Stow has described two Bushman settlements in the Pinel area the huts of which were rather different. "The position of most of the huts which covered the crests of both these hills is marked by a semicircle of stones with the opening towards the east; whilst that which formed the residence of the chief can also be distinguished from the rest, not only because it is larger, but the rocks also around it are very much more ornamented than any in the immediate neighbourhood of the others, while two or three smaller ones are placed close against it, forming probably the sleeping apartments of some of his wives. These semicircles of stones show that the diameter of the general huts was about four feet and those of the chiefs nearly five. Their framework was formed of a few bent withes, and this again was covered with rush or grass mats. These were most commonly made of rushes laid longitudinally side by side and then sewn neatly and closely together with either a twine made of the back-sinews of an antelope of a kind of cord composed of rushes bruised and closely twisted together. The holes through which the twine or cord was passed were perforated through the body of the rush by means of a bone awl made for the purpose. These huts were more in the shape of magnified Dutch ovens than that of anything else."

"The huts used by the men of the plains differed somewhat from those just described. They were not strengthened at the bottom with the row of stones used in the more permanent dwellings. They were taken down in the morning, the mats rolled up, the sticks tied into a bundle, and carried from place to place after the game. The wife constructed for herself a fireplace with three round stones." (STOW, GEORGE, W.: *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 43-4.) Larger huts of a similar type are found amongst the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware. (SCHAPER, I.: *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 89.)

Among the Naron and most of the other Northern Bushmen the women do all the building. "The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which the hut is built vary with the season : in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door ; the opening is about four feet high." (BLEEK, DOROTHEA, F. : *The Naron, a Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, 1928, p. 5.)

The Bergdama build huts consisting of broken branches stuck in the ground in a circle of from two to three metres in diameter and bent inwards at the top. This framework is covered with dried grass or often large pieces of bark. The doorway, which is about 50 cm. high, is closed by means of a skin which can be rolled up when required. These Bergdama huts are built by the women to whom they belong and the men have no rights of ownership. (VEDDER, von H. : "Die Bergdama in Südwest Africa", in *Africa*, 1930, Vol. III, pp. 182-3.)

The Hottentot huts (PLATE IV, FIG. e) are more closely related to those of the Cape Bushmen and Natal Nguni tribes. "The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people. They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes

dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another ; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down ; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

"The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep. To the right of the rear opening is erected a

frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions." (SCHAPERA, I. : *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.)

A semicircular hut in which the branches are bent over in arches is found amongst the Pygmies of the Belgian Congo (PLATE IV, FIG. c). (SCHEBESTA, VON PAUL : "Meine Forschungsreise in Belgisch-Kongo, 1929-30," in *Africa*, 1931, Vol. IV, PLATE IV.) This type is further developed in the domed huts of the Basongo-Meno and in the conical or pyramidal huts of the Aruwimi region, whilst some of the Ababua tribes also build round huts of beehive shape (PLATE IV, FIG. c).

On the eastern coast the Thonga boys build beehive huts, *mitjhonga*, after the Zulu fashion, but these are rarely more than six feet in diameter. (JUNOD, HENRI, A. : *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol. II, 1927, p. 110.) A hut type from Ngora, Uganda (PLATE IV, FIG. b) also belongs to this class (JONES, THOMAS, JESSE : *Education in East Africa*, c. 1923-4, PLATE XXa.)

Of particular interest are the stone beehive huts recorded from northern Orange Free State and the Transvaal. (HOERNLE, R. F. A. : "The Stone-hut Settlement on Tafelkop, near Bethal", in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. IV, 1930, pp. 34-45; RIET LOWE, C. VAN : "A Preliminary Report on the Stone Huts of Vechtkop", *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. 57, 1927, pp. 217-33; and HOEPEN, C. E. N. VAN : "A Pre-European Bantu Culture in the Lydenburg District", in *Argeologiese Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum*, Deel II, 1939, pp. 47-74.) The Hoernlés and Riet Lowe ascribe the huts from Tafelkop and Vechtkop to the Leghoya and Hoepen suggests that those of Lydenburg and the northern Free State were built by early Bantu tribes. This is in agreement with other evidence which also indicates that the early Bantu tribes adopted a beehive hut form. The contention that these people derived their technique of building in stone from an Hamitic source (HOEPEN, E. C. N. VAN : *op. cit.*, p. 65) may be true but building materials in themselves can rarely be accepted as a diagnostic cultural feature. It is only by means of structural plans and the rarer building techniques that one can correlate the

different dwelling types. Timber, mud or stone may be employed by the same people depending on the availability of these materials.

The rectangular hut type has been adopted by almost all African peoples in recent years. It is a pure European introduction and generally follows the pattern described for the Southern Sotho. Two earlier infiltrations of rectangular dwellings are noteworthy. One was from the west coast into the Congo basin and the second was from the Mombasa coast towards Lake Victoria. Just as the fusion of the "rondavel" with the rectangular ground plan produced the oval hut so the application of the semicircular supports of the beehive hut to a rectangular ground plan resulted in a new hut type—a type for which I propose the term of "waggon-tilt" hut from its resemblance to the arched cover of the trek-waggon. This consists of a series of semicircular arches set at regular distances apart giving a vaulted framework identical in form with the present-day Nissen hut and having a rectangular plan.

Whether the "waggon-tilt" hut originated as a result of people familiar with beehive hut construction adapting their technique to a rectangular plan introduced from the coast or whether it represents a different fundamental use of arched supports it is difficult to determine. It is significant that such a hut type is found in regions where the rectangular dwelling has impinged on the beehive hut as in the Congo basin and in the country occupied by the Masai, which indicates that it does represent a modification of the beehive hut under the later influence of a rectangular form.

In the Congo basin the Basonge and Bateke both have rectangular houses with rounded roofs of the "waggon-tilt" type (PLATE IV, FIG. a) whilst the Masai *tembe* is also of the same class. The latter "can best be compared with a round-topped trunk. Though the Masai usually stand well over six feet, their huts, which (quite comfortably with the owners' mode of life as cattle breeders *par excellence*) are neatly and fragrantly plastered with cowdung, are so low that even a person of normal stature cannot stand upright in them." (WEULE, KARL : *Native Life in East*

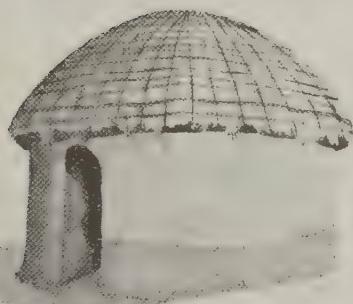
CAPE NGUNI HUTS



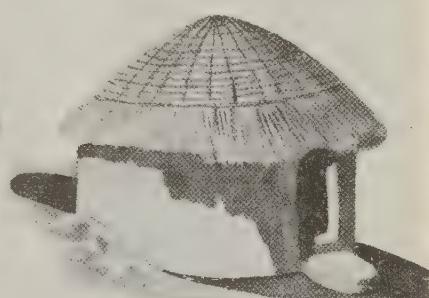
a. Framework.



b. Vundle.



c. Pondoniise.



d. Vundle.

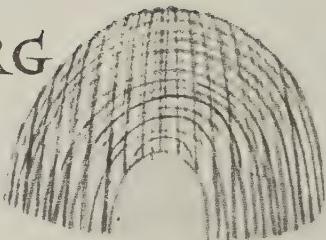


e. Hlubi.

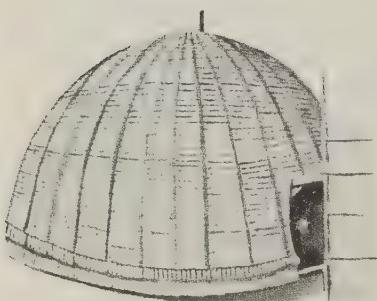


f. Vundle. w.

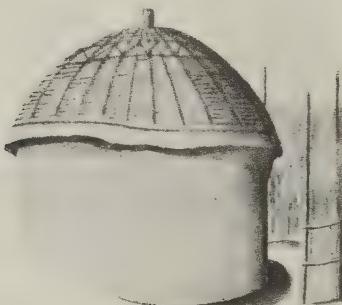
DRAKENSBERG NGUNI HUTS



a. Framework.

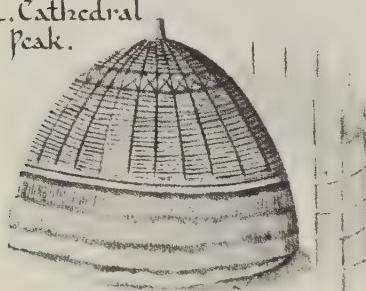


b. Oliviershoek.



c. Van Reenan's.

d. Cathedral
Peak.



e. Oliviershoek.



NGUNI HUT DETAILS

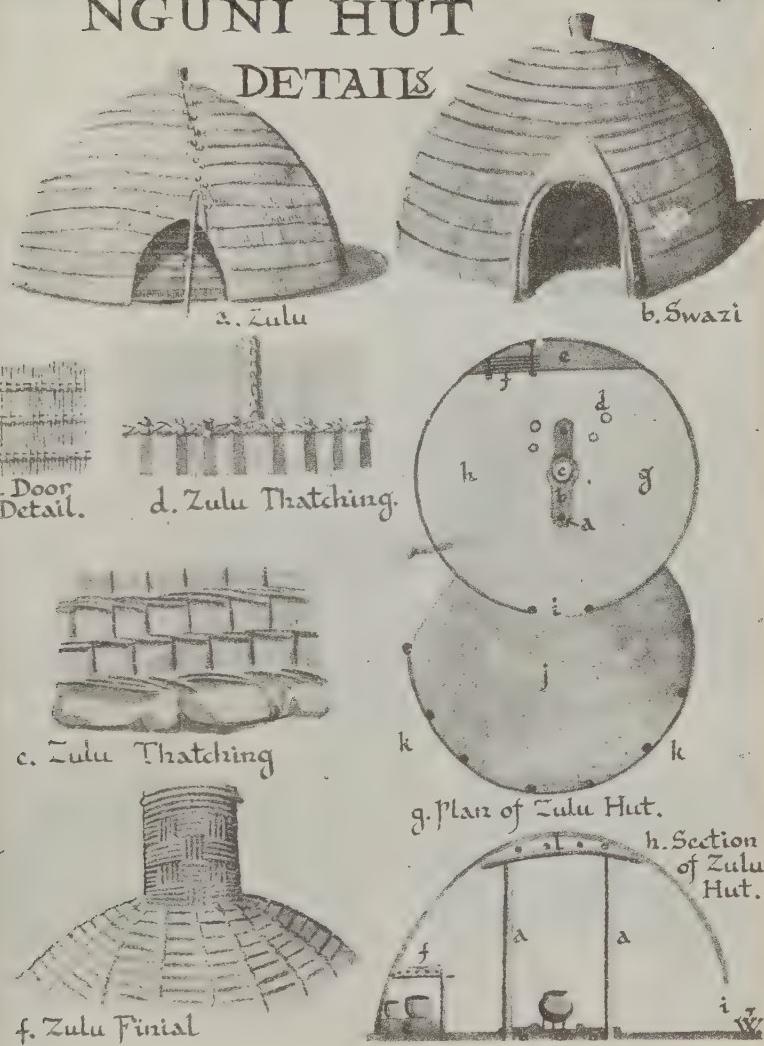


PLATE III

BEEHIVE and ALLIED HUTS



PLATE IV

Africa, 1909, p. 86.) "The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground ; they then bend the poles together with cord made from trees ; after which they cover the frame with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud." (HOLLIS, A.C.: *The Masai*, 1905.)

The "waggon-tilt" hut occurs sporadically throughout the world in regions entirely disconnected. Apart from the African instances already mentioned it is found amongst the Todas of Southern India where it is almost identical with the Bateke hut. Similar reed huts, *sarifa*, are also to be met with in the marsh areas of Southern Iraq.

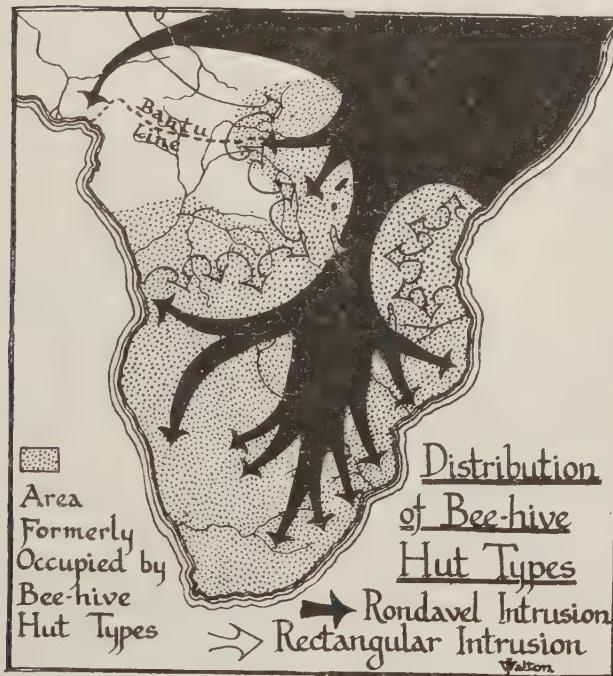


PLATE V

DISTRIBUTION OF BEEHIVE HUT FORMS

The northern limit of the beehive hut almost coincides with the "Bantu Line". Formerly in the whole area south of this boundary the beehive hut, in its many varieties, was the sole dwelling type apart from simple wind-screens and rock-shelters. The early Bantu tribes, the Hottentots, the Bushmen and the Congo Pygmies all favoured this method of hut construction. The later Bantu invaders had already accepted the "ronadavel" from the Eastern Hamitic and Sudanic Negro tribes before setting out on their migrations to the south and these various Bantu waves were apparently responsible for the gradual diffusion of the "rondavel". This penetration by the "rondavel" is not yet complete; it still continues among the Nguni tribes on the south-east coast and only the widespread adoption of the European type of rectangular dwelling will halt this penetration. To-day it is common for a people to change direct from the beehive hut to the rectangular without passing through the intervening "ronadavel" stage.

Beyond the northern limit of the beehive hut the "rondavel" is again dominant, probably having spread westwards from the same common source as that from which the Bantu "rondavel" was derived. The most westerly occurrence is found among the Ikwe of the Cross River, an isolated instance of "rondavel" construction in a traditionally rectangular hut region. The common origin of these "rondavel" types is supported by the fact that the Ikwe conical roof framework is constructed on the ground after the widespread Bantu manner.

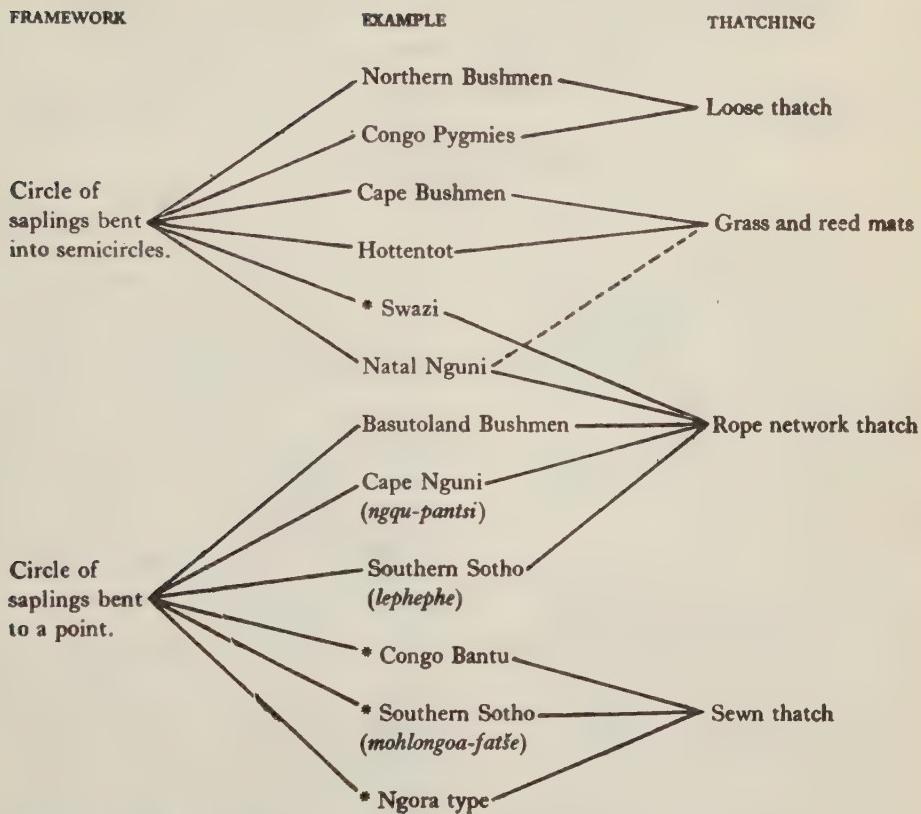
Although the distribution of the beehive hut type has been mapped as an uniform architectural group (PLATE V) such huts are only analogous in the one sense that their framework consists of a circle of stakes bent over to form an approximate beehive shape. Within this large group there are two main divisions:—

1. The Early Bantu Type, characterized by a framework consisting of a circular arrangement of saplings bent over to a point at the apex and

joined by a series of circular hoops parallel to the ground. This section can be sub-divided into:—

- (a) The true early Bantu type having a sewn thatch and a porch, e.g. the Southern Sotho *mohlongoa-fatse*, the Ngora hut type (PLATE IV, FIG. b) and the beehive hut of the Congo Bantu (PLATE IV, FIG. c).
 - (b) A simpler type having the same framework but without a porch and having a rope network thatch, e.g. the Cape Nguni *ngqu-pantsi* (PLATE I, FIGS. a and b), the Southern Sotho *lephethe* and the Basuto-land Bushmen huts.
2. The hemispherical type having a framework consisting of a circle of saplings bent over into semicircular arches.
- (a) Primitive shelters of the Congo Pygmies (PLATE IV, FIG. d) and most of the Northern Bushmen; loosely thatched, unsewn and unroped.
 - (b) The Hottentot (PLATE IV, FIG. e) and Cape Bushman type. Thatched with reed mats.
 - (c) The Natal Nguni type (PLATES II and III). Rope thatched.
- Although the above types are fairly well defined there are certain instances where these features overlap. Thus the Swazi hut belongs to group 2, but it has a porch of the early Bantu type and the Natal Nguni huts are rope thatched but grass mats are sometimes spread on the outside over the thatch (SCHAPERA, I. : *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, 1946, p. 144) suggesting Hottentot or Cape Bushman analogies. Slight regional variations of this nature will naturally result from cultural contacts over a long period.

The main features of beehive huts can be conveniently summarized as follows:—

Classification of Beehive Hut Types

* Indicates with a porch.

RECUEIL DE SIGNAUX CLANIQUES OU KUMBU DES TRIBUS MBAGANI ET DU KASAI (Congo Belge)

G. VANCOILLIE, C.I.C.M.

PART II

B. BINDJI OU MBAGANI

8. *Bashí 'Kilambo* (Les gens de la Sauterelle)

Bashí 'Kilambo a migeta,

Cato'ji gá 'Ango'ji,

Mushí 'kimbala 'kávúndá ngulá,

Mushí Gate'pa gá kengá,

Cendání gúneagu.

'Uásá'la guándji úazo'zo nání ?

Nutú'tu'tu'tu' . . .

Gens de la sauterelle avec les balles,

Gatoji de Gangoji,

De la petite termitière qui efface le sentier des rats,

Homme du village Huit avec les fers (cuivres qui contournent la crosse de fusil),

Marchez par ici . . .

Les embuscades de l'ennemi sont comparée au travail des rats, mais eux sont les fourmis. Les *migeta* sont des balles faites de bois *muéta*, *lukwángá* en Luba.

9. *Ba. Tshikuni* (Les gens du "Morceau de bois")

Ils ont un triple signal, par le fait qu'ils sont voisins et apparentés aux groupements Lulua et Kete, tous deux d'idiome Luba.

vv. *Tshitupa, Tshingámbó, Kdkáléngé*

Lukuni lúa bísí,

Kálutuátua'le mûána,

Kásansu ka mélba,

Wdtangíld kadi kúlú,

Kadi pánshi hakú'a'sd.

Morceau de bois vermoulu,

L'enfant ne peut le soulever,

Petit bois garni d'épines,
Tu regarderas celui de dessus,
Celui d'en bas te blessera.

(b) *Keté*, pour les mêmes

Lükuni lúa bísí,

Kásansu ka mibá,

'Nzoló pd kúbwé'lá,

Kapápá mûána tshishí.

La poule en entrant,
Ira donner un insecte à l'enfant.

(c) *Bindji*

vv. *Tshitupa, kákáléngé*

Luendu lí ngondo,

Kalubádi mifúlú,

Dijingá dí kuendá,

Mushindjí 'Amaniaga.

(La) marche au clair de la lune,

Ne comptez pas les tranchées,

Lac du croco,

Descendant de "La Force".

Il y a encore de nombreuses tranchées chez les Bambagani, autant de monuments historiques de la tribu.

Les habitants de ces trois villages habitent encore ensemble. Autrefois ceux de Kakalenge et de Tshingambo habitaient entre les villages de Tshitupa et des Ba Kize (1), avec lesquels ils avaient l'idiome Kete en commun. Les anciens le parlent encore. La proximité et la chefferie y ont introduit le Lulua.

10. *Bashi Múlúamba*

Bashi mítúamba,
Gasenga midimba,
Migá mí kámibijí,
Gate'pa gá 'Aniemba,
Gendáni gúneagu.
 Gens du parasolier,
 De la poudre (d'écorce), des plumes,
 (Comme) les poils de chèvre,
 Village du nommé "Sauterelle Niemba" . . .

11. *Bashi Ga(g)wayi* (Les Gens à la Ritournelle)v. *Lúa'báld*

Gawayi galúngd, mugulútú mulúngá
Bádia'ge' nzou, bá'sé' gambandá,
Gawayi gá mabemba,
Dí muPóngó i dí mubi'ka,
Tutá'náni tu'tu'tu', songuání mbandji,
Magáyigá kamágálusamba.
 Mâle ritournelle, mâle aîné,
 On a tué un éléphant, on le charge sur l'épaule
 Ritournelle des paniers à gibier,
 Le panier de la plaine Pongo et de l'ancien
 village,
 Venons ensemble, escarpez les flèches,
 Des (difficultés) viendront et vous dépasseront

vv. *'Kiludá'tá, Galemبà, Gapigamiyówú*

Mua'ná mushí gawayi gd 'Ake'ká,
Mushí 'kile'ma 'kí 'Atamatá,
Mushí 'kigúmbá,
Mushí gawayi gá Katudi,
Mushí gawayi gá muPóngó, (Kil.)
Mushí gawayi gá 'Amagutú,
Mulombi magalu. (Gal., Gap.)

Enfant de l'homme à la ritournelle du nommé
 "Le Rôti",
 Qui tend la corde du nommé "Les arcs",
 Qui encercle,
 . . . de la plaine Katudi,
 . . . de la plaine Pongo,
 . . . de l'homme nommé "Le Boutonné",
 Arbre touffu *mulombi*, (nombreux comme les)
 écailles.

Une plaine, proche du village, s'appelle Pongo.
 C'est une spécification de *páta*.

vv. *Galubondò, 'Kímuángá*

Mua'ná mushí gawayi,
Gendangimbú mushíndjí 'Amaniaga,
'Kiaganda kó'wo, ba'ná bashí Yamba,
'Kindundu mvudila mu patá.

Forte hache descendant du nommé "La Force",
 Encercler de tête de ruisseau, enfants des
 gens de Yamba,
 Village des forts qui se multiplie au "heimat",

Le *ndundu* est la marche d'un homme qui
 fait trembler la terre.

v. *Malala*

Mua'ná mushí gawayi gá mukámbá,
Gendangimbú mushíndjí 'Amaniaga,
Mude'di u koyi,
'Kiálumbá koyi,
Mvudila mu patá.

. . . de l'arbre *clorophora excelsa*,

Lamineur du léopard,
 Qui abat le léopard,

v. *Ndumbuji*

Mua'ná mushí gakubá,
Mushí gawayi gd 'Abinda,
Muholombi, to'to, gapohólo.

Enfant de l'homme à la foudre,
 A la ritournelle du nommé "Le Bataillon",
 Arbre glycine, pierre broyeuse, trou dans la
 pierre.

Le *muholombi* est un arbre dont le bois est
 très dur.

Le *gapohólo* est le trou dans une pierre, creusé
 par l'eau et dans lequel on trouve souvent un
 caillou, la *to'to*.—L'ennemi subira le sort de la
 pierre, il devra céder.

v. *Subula*

Mua'ná mushí gawayi gage'gá,
Dipangu dí koyi,
Gatsongo u kála,
'Kisamba 'ki nzou,
Mvudila mu patá.

. . . Patte de léopard,

. . . Loutre du crabe,
Gîte d'éléphant,

Tous ces gens se disent apparentés.

12. *Bashî Genda Bushî*

v. *Mûsemba*

Luyembî lú á ndandu,
Mugâ Putu a 'kilunda,
Gakatshi gá sangá i ndunga
'Kîdbündâ koyi,
Gendangimbû mushindjî 'Akalângâ,
Tutá'nâ'ni tu'tu'tu',
Ucâ'sâ la guândji úa'zo'zo nânî ?
Liane rampe de l'arbre-pont,
Du clan Putu de l'endroit accidenté,
Petit buisson de poivre et poivre,
Qui moleste le léopard,
Forte hache descendant du nommé "L'Igname",
Venons ensemble . . .

Le *gakatshi gá sangá* et le *ndunga* sont deux espèces de poivre.

v. *Pîmbi*

Luyembî lú á ndandu,
Musuengela mbandji, 'kialumbâ koyi,
Ditâmbâ dibû'mu dââtsâ'kilûga,
Dia'sâ dihûngâ dîdieye' mutu,
Tutá'nâ'ni tu'tu'tu' . . .
Escarpeur de flèches, qui moleste le léopard,
Branche sèche qui tombe rudement,
Qui devenue légère a tué un homme. . . .

v. *Mubô'bû*

Luyembî lú á ndandu
Luyembî lú á Kavunda,
Tutá'nâ'ni tu'tu'tu',
Kûlûgûdî butâ, kûlûgûdî musaga,
Baluba bâtuande'la.
Le chien sauvage
Liane de sur le ruisseau Kavunda
N'oublie pas l'arc, n'oublie pas le carquois,
Les Baluba nous agacent.

v. *'Kitadi*

Luyembî lú á a ndandu,
Musuengela mbandji,

Bânuâ'nd i Mindjêndji,
Mude'di u koyi,
Mudieyi batu,
Bashî mina'nu mutshîma wandjî ugdmule'sa.
.....

On se bat avec les Atshiokwe,
Lamineur du léopard,
Tueur d'hommes,
Sa conscience lui montrera ce qu'il doit faire
avec les gens qui gémissent (il tuera l'en-nemi vaincu).

v. *'Kishe'ta*

Gate'pa gá 'Abinda,
Mushî mugwindjî luganduga pangu,
Kûshi i pangu kûgandûyî,
Mushî mûbidi bambundu,
Mushî luyembî lú á ndandu,
Village Huit du nommé "Le Bataillon",
Habitant de la colline qui montes avec une canne,
Si tu n'as pas de canne tu ne monteras pas,
Propriétaire de l'arbre *mubidi* avec les fourmis-guêpes

Unangé'tâ buga i mbidî,
Bâgândé'tâ bâbuâ'né'tâ batu,
Bdyage'ta luléngâ ludnze'la.
Tu aimais la bouillie de manioc avec les fruits de l'arbre *mubidi*,
Qui avaient l'habitude de rencontrer des hommes,
Ont trouvé la brousse qui a commencé (à couvrir la place=les hommes ont disparu).

v. *'Kie'pela*

Mushî luyembî lú á ndandu,
Igdâ'ni gûneagu,
Gapandiga gâtiyela',
Kúa'vundûlâ'ni,
'Kimbumbu 'kî nzou,
Bânuâ'nd i muto'ga,
Tutá'nâ'ni tu'tu'tu'.
.....

Le filet de pêche est déchiré,
Employez la spatule (=mangez vite),
Dos d'éléphant,

On se bat avec le Blanc,
Venez ensemble.

Kú-d-vund-úl-áni est la forme subordinative, avec un suffixe au pluriel tandis que le préfixe *est* la 2e pers. du singulier.

Les Bashi Genda Bushi sont sans doute les derniers Mbagani qui ont employé un *kúmbu* de révolte contre "les Blancs". Ils étaient impliqués dans l'affaire dite de Béya, qui est connue comme la guerre de l'Allemagne, "*bitá bi Diámáni*" (1917). Ce vers a été ajouté à l'ancien *kúmbu*.

13. *Bá Le'mú*

v. *Mubó'bú, Gawe'lá*

Mushí gasenga, midimba,
'Kimbumbu 'kí nzou
Galundzu gá Ndayi,
Bongú bú kó·gó.
Mbú úofú 'mbombò,
Unónié-ta ká ditúbá.
Le Chien Sauvage,
Galundzu de Ndayi,
Cerveau de poule,
Le chien a le nez cassé,
(Lui) qui allait ramasser sur la termitière.

v. *Gamua·ba*

Mua·nd mushí Gate·pa u Andálangi,
Disangú di budimbu,
'Kikala'tshí 'kí tswe'ta.
Enfant de l'homme du village Huit de Gandalangi,
Tache de colle
Arbre *kikalatshi* aux épines.

v. *Gamuguni*

Mushí Gate·pa gd Abinda,
Dijimbá di má·shi,
Mvudila mu patà,
'Kidlumbá koyi.
.
Mare d'eau,
Qui se multiplie au heimat,

v. *Gangandu*

Mudná mushí gasenga midimba,
Gasenga a mie'tá,

Gasenga gá muPóngó,
Mbú úofú mbombò,
Unóninéta ká ditúbá.
.....

De la poudre des arbres *mue·tá*,
De la poudre de (dedans) la plaine Pongo,

v. *Galandula*

Mua·nd mushí gapeni a mukunga,
'Kimbe·la 'kiávundá ngulà,
Galugáld bibe·bu,
Igáni gúneagu,
Ditángú di·le·la.
Enfant de l'homme à l'arbre très haut (*gapani*)
d'un seul lancement (*mukunga* : flèche d'une seule pièce),
Termitière des plaines qui détruit le sentier des rats,
Venez ici,
Le soleil se noircit.

v. *Muzui·mbí* (Pluie de longue durée)

Mua·nd mushí Gandu,
'Kia·lu·la páta,
Mushi gu 'Kito·tu,
Mushi gaba·la gá Ngumbáni
Mushi gu 'Kienie·ni,
Muhologombí mugulútú ditúngá.
Enfant de l'homme de Gandu,
Qui occupe la plaine par une avant-garde,
Qui habites près du ruisseau 'Kitotu,
Homme du bosquet du ruisseau "Les Cailles",
Habitant de la plaine Kienieni,
Arbre Glycine aîné du village.

14. *Bá· Mütshíma* (Les Voleurs)

v. *Gasa·jjí*

Ganengánengá mushindji 'A'kiandu,
Mushi 'kimbalá 'kiávundá ngulà,
Ganzuindji gámuangá tsenga.
Beau fusil descendant de Ga 'kiandu,
Petit oiseau (*kálaJJí*) qui remue les déchets de manioc.

v. *Gabau, Mángénda* (Petit Feu, *Mángénda*)

Géndá ngumbú mushindji 'Amalambu,
'Kizambálá ko·jí, 'kibá·gá mushimbu.

Qui na pas de hache, desc. de Gamalambu,
Qui n'a pas de liane Calamus sp., qui coupe
une liane vulgaire.

vv. 'Kitadi, Bisobo ('Kitadi, Feuilles-légumes)
*Mushindjí 'Amángú, mushindjí 'Amugúta,
'Kindambándambá 'kimand tóno.*
Desc. de Camangu, desc. de Gamuguta,
Partie de forêt qui a tous les jeunes arbres a
elle seule.

vv. 'Kímuangà, Gamá·shi
*Mugá támbá kolókolo,
Mushi gú gamandà,
'Kíruetá mbandjí, mushi 'Kinia·ta mbandjí.*
L'homme du bois-de-manioc vivant en paix,
Qui habite près de la forêt aux palmiers raphia
de marais,
Qui manie les flèches, de l'homme qui foule
les flèches aux pieds.

v. Gashiabuanga
*Mushindjí 'A'kimbú mugénke,
Gulugéngoló lú Gapau,
Mushi gú 'Kiengéji guLusambo.*
Descendant du nommé "Espèce de chien", le
chien sauvage,
Qui a le regard à la forêt "aux arbres troués",
Qui habite près du ruisseau 'Kiengeji près de
la Lusambo.

vv. Muji·tò, 'Kie·legasu, Mende.
*Mushindjí 'Ambembà,
Gatsongo gatsongo gámuangá tugwingí.*
Descendant du nommé "Le colimaçon",
Loutre qui remue les nasses.

15. Bā Musenga (Les gens à la poudre d'écorce d'arbres)

vv. Músambái, Cabowu
*Mugá pígu kútangí nkúása,
Mushindjí 'Angudi,
Mushindjí 'Apangula,
Yendáni milongo yendáni milongo
Yendáni milongo, gúshine·la pápápá.*
Homme du rat ne compte pas les poils,
Desc. de "La cordelette à la patte de poule";
Desc. de Gapangula,
Marchez en rangs, on a passé outre mesure.

Le mot *lukúása* est originaire de l'idiome des Bena Ngeshi. Il intervient aussi dans le *kúmbu* des Bena Tshilambo (7).

vv. Músasa, Gatalà, 'Kilembi
*Mugá Mbulu d 'Addyì,
Muga Mbulu 'Kípápá,
Dítambá dí manyaga,
Díndingi kuni,
Dié·tingi kóto i diáú.*
Homme de "La Figure aux petites verrues"
Gandayi
Homme de "La F." le "Sait régler tout".
Forte branche,
Qui n'avait pas de bois sec,
Qui se chauffait sa partie inférieure.

16. Ba· Mbúji. (Les gens du clan maternel Mbúji)

Tous

*Mushi Gate·pa u Ba· Mbúji
Mugá Mbúji a pungu,
Mayangú migóngoló,
Ganzuingdjí gá tsengá,
Igáni gúneagu, igáni gúneagu,
Ugdás·la guändjí ugázo·zo náni ?*
Homme du village Huit du clan Mbúji,
H. du clan Mb. qui chante au ton juste,
Sauterelles (*míkumbi*) en essaim,

Le nom Mbúji a primé les autres noms claniques qui existent au groupement. Les vv. Galemba, Gapigamiyowu sont du groupement Bashi Gawayi (11). Les vv. Gamuzala, Ilunga sont des Bashi Iyasa (16'), Gamalenga est du groupement Bashi Nzenze (16").

16'. Bashi Nzénzé (Les gens du Cricri)
*Mua·nd mushi nzénzé,
Mujinga utú·lé gudi·lu.*
Enfant de l'homme au cricri,
Fumée qui arrivait au ciel.
Ces gens se sont séparés des Bashi Iyasa (16") après une bataille dans laquelle on se disputait des cricris.

16''. Bashi Iyasà (Les gens du village Iyasa)
*Gawayi gá mumbá·lá,
Gazo·za mpáta,*

Mupimni d Kazo'za.

Ritournelle (montante) des hautes herbes,
Demandeur de plaine,
"Homme qui a trouvé toute la plaine occupée"
du nommé "Le Demandeur" (de pouvoir
occuper une place).

Les Bashi Iyasa disent avoir perdu leur groupement lors de la migration générale des Babindji. Ils ont le même dialecte Bindji que les Ba Musenga (15) et les Ba Manga (36). Leur kúmbu paraît argumenter dans le même sens. *Gu-pinia* est l'acte d'occuper toutes les places habitables d'une plaine.

17. *Bā Tsangù* (Les gens du clan Les Semences)

Gate·pa gá 'ABínda,
Muzuimbí lumana kúni,
Mua·ná mágá Tsangù,
Village Huit de Gabinda "Le Bataillon",
Pluie de longue durée achieveuse du bois,
Enfant de l'homme du clan "Les Semences."

18. *Ba· Lubí·jí*

Mugá Láibíjí u Bā Manga,
'Kite·pa ,kí 'Ambembá,
Gandjimbu u māshi,
Luyembí líú á ndandu,
Gatshindjí-'Abuanga,
Mbamila bitá.
Homme du clan "Le Bourgeon" du clan "Les Mauvais Sorts",
Village Huit du nommé "Le Colimaçon,
(Ruisseau) Le Fourmilier à l'eau,
(Du nom de) Descendant de "Le Mauvais Sort",
Commandant de la bataille.

La Gandjimbu coule dans la Pepa-Luibu.

Ces deux groupements ne sont pas des Bashi Ga 'kiema et ne sont pas mentionnés dans les kúmbu de ceux-ci.

19. *Bashí Ga 'kie·má* (Les gens de "L'haletant")

Ca 'kie·má gá ndunda,
Mvudila mu patà,
'Kia·la·la apdá,
Dimuma dí ndunga.

Haletant qui fais tout un tas,
Le qui se multiplie du heimat,
Le dormeur à la belle étoile,
Grain de poivre.

Pata est l'ensemble du village où l'on se sent chez soi et duquel on se sépare à contre cœur. Le "heimat" de l'allemand. Le poivre fait allusion au courage dans la bataille.

20. *Bashindjí 'Amujinga*

Tous

Mbúyi 'Alémbá mushindjí 'Amujinga,
Mushi 'kibondobondo 'kí mujobo,
Gendá luendu gúneagu,
Mushindjí Anganzá, mushindjí A'kimuángá
Mushi gadindi gúmina gui·lu.
Enfant-jumeau fils de "Le serpent Galemba"
descendant de Camujinga "Le Cerné",
Du grand rassemblement indénommable,
Marche la marche par ici.
Desc. de Ganganza, desc. de Gakimuanga,
De la liane à caoutchouc dont les fruits
mûrissent en haut.

v. *Kiamulómbo*

Bashi Kongo, bashindjí 'Amujinga,
'Kite·pa kí 'Avula,
Gens de la plaine Kongo, desc. de Gamuj.,
Village Huit de la Gavula,

v. *Gamondjí*

'Kikaka kolokolò,
'Kilungu 'kí Bashí Musala Mpasu,
Me·mé nayagá du, gui·lu gúilela.
'Kikaka écoute,
Parent de ceux qui sont avec le M. Mpasu,
Moi je pars à l'instant, la nuit tombe.

21. *Bā Gumba* (Les gens du clan de "La Stérile")v. *Fuámbá*

'Kibindabinda 'kí mábóngó,
Gamaga á 'Amuanda-isoka,
Luyembí líú á ndandu,
Mugá Gumb á 'Kilambo.
Bataillon d'au-dessus des précipices,

- "Les oeufs" de "La carotte de manioc" de Gatsoka,
Du clan de "La Stérile" de la Sauterelle.
- v. *Kuendà* (Le Crocodile)
Ga' kie'má gá milolo ga ndunda
Gá ndundu.
A-about-d'haleine aux ordres criés,
Avec le battement des talons.
- v. *Gambulu*
Mugá Lúbútá u Apingà.
Du clan de "La nombreuse postérité de Gapinga".
- v. *Mángénda*
Gasenga gá misaga,
'Kindambándambá luvula tóndo.
De la poudre d'arbres pour les carquois,
Section de forêt aux nombreux bâtons.
- v. *Wazumá*
Galembá á mishimbu
'Kibe'lu 'kí muzo'dí.
Serpent qui ressemble aux lianes,
Cuisse de revenant.
- v. *Bungama*
Gaputa miluanga,
'Kimbala 'kiávívándá ngulá.
Traîneur de hampes de lances,
Termitière qui va détruire le sentier des rats.
- Le nom Ba Gumb, qu'on entend ici sans *a* final, est un nom clanique maternel, un des rares qui ait pu se maintenir.
22. *Baká Ba-la* (Les gens de "La plaine brûlée")
Tous
- Mugá Ba-la á Kue'tà,*
Mushí Gátshindji-'Abuanga,
Unangé'tá mule'mu.
Genda luendu lutshinu.
Homme de la plaine brûlée de Kueta,
Homme du nommé "Descendant de Mauvais Sort",
Qui préférait la paresse,
Marche vite.
- v. *Gágoba*
Ba'nd bashí Gate'pa gá 'Amanga.
Enfants du village Huit de Gamanga.
- v. *Mayangu* (Les Sauterelles en essaim)
Ba' Lubá'lá bashí to'tò,
Bashí dijingá dí kuendà.
Gens de Lubala qui avez des pierres broyeuses,
Gens du lac au crocodile.
- vv. *'Kinyámdá, 'Kiø'na*
Genda muná Kólo,
Ba'nd bashí musongela mbandji,
Genda enfant de Kolo,
Enfants des gens de l'escarpeur de flèches.
- v. *'Kildambilú*
'Kidambá luvula tóndo.
Partie de forêt multiplicatrice de jeunes arbres.
Múná serait *múná* selon les règles grammaticales.
Les exigences du mètre-*kímbu* en font *míná*.
Ba'ná, est la forme génitive de *bána* et serait normalement suivi de *báshí* et non de *bashí*, pour les mêmes raisons. Dans ce recueil il y a de nombreux cas de déviation aux règles tonologiques de la langue Mbagani. Kueta avait une cicatrice à la joue, disent les anciens.
23. *Ba' Mbúyi* (Les gens du clan maternel
"Les Jumeaux")
Ba' Mbúyi devient *Mugá Mbúyi* au singulier, mais un enfant jumeau est *múá-na u bambúyi*, au pluriel : *bambúyi*.
- Tous
- Ba'nd bashí 'kidiata malumbu,*
Ba'nd bashí gátiungá gá ndandu,
Igáni gu'neagu.
Magambu máshine pápápá,
Máshine pápápá magambu mdzuangá.
Enfants des gens de l'homme qui foule les lances aux pieds,
Enfants des gens du petit endroit habité de l'arbre-pont,
Les difficultés dépassent la mesure,
. . . Les difficultés deviennent très sérieuses.
- Le mot *gutúnga* se traduit par construire des cases. *Ditúnga* est un endroit habité, un village, et non une région.

vv. '*Kitógo*, '*Kisúyi*'

Ba Mbú(y)i d'Alémbá,
Bashíndjí 'Amujinga,
Bashí gabondo gá kangá,
Malu máye' māshi.
 Jumeaux de Galembe,
 Descendants de Gamujinga "Le Cerné",
 Gens du petit palmier aux cordelettes,
 L'eau s'est mélangée au vin de palme.

Cf. *Bashíndjí 'Amujinga* (20).

vv. *Shámikalenge. Múzó·di*

Ba'ná bashí Musangú-sangù,
Galendamana,
'Kípó·pó' kí budimbu
 Enfants des gens de la riv. Musangu,
 Homme qui pendille (litt.),
 Ecuellette de colle.

vv. *Mútondò 'Kigoga.*

Ba'ná bashí ganángá gá gui·lu,
Gúshine' pápápá.
 Enfants des gens de la haute colline,

.vv. *Gaséndámi*

Ba'ná bashí Galombó d to·to,
Matsumina ménda 'kigúta,
Tuwána'na.
 Enfants des g. de G. avec sa pierre broyeuse,
 Les guêpes marchent en groupe,
 Nous venons ensemble.

v. *Mbúmba*

Ba'ná bashí Gate'pa gá manga,
Gashi·tú gá lo·ji.
 Enfants du village Huit aux mauvais sorts,
 Petite bête féroce.

Il y a une famille Luba au village de Mbumba qui s'appelle Bena Ntambue. C'est celle du chef-capita actuel.

24. *Bá Gumba* (Les gens du clan de "La Stérile")

Tous

'Kibindamina bitá,
Mugá Gumba a 'Kilambo.
 (Toi) préparé pour recevoir la guerre,
 Du clan "La Stérile" de la Sauterelle.

v. *Lo'sa*

Ba'ná bashí Kongo,
'Kigumbagumba,
'Kibindá kí ama·jí,
Gapanda gátiye'la.
 Enfants de la plaine Kongo (Kuango),
 Du clan de "La Stérile",
 Calebasse de sur l'huile,
 Le filet de pêche est déchiré.

Ou bien

Lua·dí mulundu, lúdimuyí.
 Soyez l'oiseau *mulundu*, retournez.

L'oiseau *mulundu* est connu pour sa prudence.
 La plaine Kongo, qu'on prononce aussi Kuango se trouve près du ruisseau 'Kimbungu qui est un affluent de la Lu'kie'ki.

v. *Máyì*

Bashíndjí Atsagála Kámbá.
 Descendant du nommé "Les Feuilles tombées"
 de Kamba.

v. *Gdsóngó*

Bashíndjí 'Akolókoló,
Ba'ná bashí Gamasénda 'Kíbola,
Bashí mbotomboto,
Gapanda. . . .
 Descendant de Gakolokolo,
 Enfants de Gamasenda 'Kíbola,
 Enfants du marais. . . .

La famille de ce capita est Lulua, de Tshinema Bakwa Tshiuya.

v. *Gandumbu* (Le petit Lion)

Ba'ná bá báshí Mutombó Ga 'kianvuanga,
Ba'ná bashí gadindi gí·gila gui·lu,
'Kiluku 'kishine' ndendende.

Enfants des gens de "Le Fou" Ga'kianvuanga,
 Enfants des gens de la corde à caoutchouc qui vient d'en haut,
 L'espèce de Muluba a passé outre mesure et il est proche.

v. *Gagungula*

Bashí Gate'pa,
Ba'ná bashí gatongo gá tuabi,
Gapanda

- Enfants des gens à la petite hotte à excréments,
Le filet
- v. *Gángómbí* (Le Veau)
Bashi 'Kiembá 'kí amu 'kie'ki
Gens de la plaine 'Kiembá du côté de l'aurore.
25. *Ba· Tshí·mbá* (Les gens du clan de
“La Civette”)
- Tous
Ba· Tshí·mbá,
Bashindji 'Amujinga.
Gens du clan de “La Civette”
Descendants de Gamujinga.
- vv. *'Kia·sángómbí, 'Kinyáma*
Ba· Tshimbá Bashindji 'Amuyénga,
Luendu lua·mána.
Gens de La Civette, descendants de Gamuyenga
“Le chien sauvage”,
La marche est d'extirpation.
- v. *Gádiá·tá*
Ba·ná bashi bigónzu bí tswe·ta,
Uá·sá·la gó·gu uá·zozo náni ?
Enfants des gens aux épines de régime de
noix de palme.
- v. *Galumbu*
Bána bashi gabondo gá bátsá lá·ku,
Kagáshí gusá gukóndó.
Enfants qui possédez la corbeille aux fourmis
piquantes,
Qui n'est pas à mettre à l'épaule.
- v. *Mandjángá*
Bashi mugewindji,
Luganduga i pangu.
Habitants de la colline,
Gravissant avec une canne.
- v. *'Kia·sangúla*
Bashi gashinga magambu,
Bashi 'kinga 'kí gumbau.
Homme qui sait dire à un homme ses quatre
vérités,
Gens du tesson qui se trouve près du feu.
- Les susdits noms Kiasangombi, Kinyama,
Gadiata, Kiasangula sont d'importation Kokwe.
26. *Bashi 'Kilunda* (Les gens de l'endroit accidenté)
vv. *'Kimbundu, Mágúdi*
- '*Kia·la·la apáta*
Mbombo i gatsongo,
Musongela mbandji.
Dormeur à la belle étoile,
Nez de loutre,
- vv. *'Kitadi, Múshidi*
Gambembá 'Kimbándza,
'Kisumba 'kí mue·lu,
Luendu luamána,
Gapánda gátiye·la,
Bitá bishine·la.
“Le colimaçon” et “Le Paspalum serobicula-
tum”,
Troupe en effervescence,
La marche est d'extirpation,
Ils est plus que temps pour la guerre.
- v. *'Kiba·tá*
Bashi Gandambu
'Kibinda 'ki amáshi.
Gens de Gandambu,
Bataillon de près de l'eau.
- v. *Gayénka* (Le chien sauvage)
Bashindji 'Andakámbá
Bashindji 'Apinga,
Bashi gabondo gá kangá.
Descendants de Gandakamba,
Descendants de Capinga,
Gens du palmier raphia qui donne des corde-
lettes.
- v. *Gábamba*
Gate·pa gá manga.
Village Huit de mauvais sorts.
- Seuls les gens de 'Kimbundu, Magudi s'appellent eux-mêmes des Bashi 'Kilunda. Mushidi, 'Kitadi, Gayenke sont des Ba Toyi, des “de Toyi”.
27. *Bashi 'Kibáyí*
- v. *Mángénda*
'Kite·pa 'kí Kongo,
Mushi 'Kibáyí, mushi Gá(t)shingi-'Abuanga
'Kinangá bule·ji.
Village Huit de la plaine Kongo,
Qui habites près de la rivière 'Kibayi

Homme du nommé Descendant de "Le mauvais sort",
Qui aimes les petits enfants.

v. *Fudmbá*

Gakátsakátsa mununga tsulu,
Ba·nd bá biga.
Agaricée de bonne odeur,
Enfants d'esclaves.

v. *Múgómá*

Gabinda gá mábóngó,
Gapambá, lumana páta,
Bataillon du précipice,
Houe usée, acheveuse de toute une plaine.

v. *'Kijimá*

'Kimbándzámábandzá
Mugolo gapu·ta.
Herbe *Paspalum scrobiculatum*
Traîneur de lattes de palmier.

v. *Galembá*

Gawayi gá mukámbá
Gawayi gá Abinda,
Mushi musongela mbandji.
Toi ritournelle de la clorophora excelsa
Ritournelle du nommé "Le Bataillon",
De l'homme qui escrache les flèches.

La 'Kibayi est un affluent de la Luibu. La plaine Kongo se trouve à la rivière Gamanda. Il est évident que les noms géographiques voyagent avec le groupement et que de ce fait on ne peut se baser sur eux pour des conclusions historiques qui ne tiendraient pas compte de cette instabilité.

28. *Ba: Lúbútd* (Le clan de "Les Prolifiques")

v. *Múpángú*
Genda minuanga, mugá Cumba a 'Kilambo,
Mayangú migóngoló,
Lúi·gá gúneagu.
Genda (faiseur de) corbeillettes, du clan de
La Stérile de la Sauterelle,
Les sauterelles (*míkumbi*) volent en essaims,
Venez ici.

v. *Ndúmba*

Bashindjí 'Abape·tshi,

Bashí Gate·pa gá manga,
Gapenda unangíná bità.
Descendants de Gabapetshi,
Fourmi-guêpe qui aime la guerre.

v. *Nzundila* (Lieu de repos)

Gapi·shi lumana mungu,
'Kitóngó 'kí tudbi,
Musunda miná kuendà.
Petit fruit acidé qui achève le sel,
Corbeille d'excréments (pour l'ennemi),
Jeune homme qui engloutit le crocodile.

v. *Lembalemba*

Mushi múnángá mushí tanda,
Mushi mulombí á migeta.
Habitant du haut plateau aux semaines
De l'arbre touffu en dessous duquel on fabrique
des balles.

v. *Muzui·mbí* (Pluie de longue durée)

Musáld·tshí musongela mbandji,
Lubandji lí mukunga.
Capoquier,
Flèche d'une seule pièce.

v. *Kingunu·nu*

Mushindjí 'Amagambu,
Kibue·tabue·ta lungúmá mbau.
Descendant de "L'homme aux palabres",
Herbe *Cylbopogon densiflorus* transie de feu.

Le 'kibue·tabue·ta est une espèce de sorgho exhalant une odeur qui dégage les voies respiratoires. On en conserve toujours quelques épis dans la case pour les assécher. Et aux moments de grand orage on en jette quelques brins au feu "pour que la foudre s'éloigne en sentant l'arôme incisif". On l'emploie aussi pour en enduire des enfants atteints de convulsions.

29. *Bashí Mboyi* (Les gens de la Perle)

La *mboyi, maboyi* au pluriel, est une grande perle, qu'on voit encore rarement au cou de certains notables.

Tous

'Kibindabinda kí mábóngó,
Bashindjí 'Atso-masaga,
Mulombí á migeta,

Bádiage·la.

Bataillon du précipice,

Descendants de "Le Petit" de la famille "Le deuil"

Arbre touffu *mulombi* à (sous lequel on fait des balles,

On a tué.

*A uāgendā gutādī,
Bitā bild·le' gúneagu.*

.....

Lion qui se bat avec les hampes de javelots,

Venez ici avec de la poudre,

Si tu vas au loin,

La bataille bat son plein ici.

*v. Músomba**Bashindjí' Atsagála a Gámaba.*

Descendants du nommé "Les Feuilles tombées" de Gamba.

*v. Múté·bá.**Bashí bálembá á Panda,**Igáni gúneagu,**Magambu másambá áma.*

Qui êtes fatigués de la région Panda,

Venez ici,

Ces affaires sont trop nombreuses.

*30. Bashí Galunga**Gate·pa gá bákéngá,**Bue·lu bú tsumbu,**Guandjí Niengi-Malundú,**Galunga gá má·shi,**Mvómvó á Kamba,**Matúnga 'kite·pa.*

Village Huit de qui souffrent,

Rapacité de facochère,

Mère du clan Niengi dont l'ancêtre est Gomalundu,

Galunga qui habite près de l'eau,

Bataillon commandé par Kamba,

Huit villages.

*v. Kitápá**'Kindengindengi muingú u bigwe·sa.*

Mare, chenille oubliée.

*v. Kongolo (Le petit arc-en-ciel)**Bána bashí Gamugala,**Gapendápendá, mubídí u bambundu,**Nunangínánga bitá,**Igáni gúneagu.*

Enfants, gens du nommé "L'objet de sorcellerie",

Fourmi-guêpe, arbre *mubídí* aux petites fourmis-guêpes,

Vous aimez toujours la guerre,

Gapendá et *mbundu* sont deux espèces mi-fourmis, dont les dernières, les plus petites, habitent dans une poignée de terre attachée aux feuilles de la forêt. Elles symbolisent l'harcèlement infligé à l'ennemi. *Gapendá* en double, *gapendápendá*, indique mieux l'impétuosité, tout comme *gabindabinda* de *gabinda*: bataillon.

*v. Kongolo Munéni (Le grand arc-en-ciel)**'Kibindabinda 'kí mábóngó,**Támbú logólo minuanga**Igáni gúneagu i pfuanda,**31. Bā Ndába*

Tous

*Mugá Ndábá á Niengi,**Mvómbo á Kamba.*

Homme du clan Ndaba de Niengi,

Bataillon commandé par Kamba.

Le nom clanique Ndaba s'est maintenu, au dessus des autres noms : Ba Pombo, Ba Lubuta . . . qui sont présents ici comme ailleurs. Leurs frères sont restés près de la Lulua, aux villages de Mukandianga, Kalala, Kabuluku, Tshimuanga, Tshibuba (Dibaya), connus sous le nom de Baka Niangi (Lulua) ou Ba Niengi (Bindji). Ils y parlent toujours le Bindji.

*vv. Mágúdi, Mángénda**Mugá Pángá mushindjí 'Amujinga,**Gabondo gá kangá,**'Kibindabinda 'ktí mujobo.*

Homme du clan Pangá, descendant du nommé "Le Cerne",

Petit palmier raphia aux cordelettes,
Turbulante troupe innombrable.

Ces gens sont apparentés aux Bashindji Amu-jinga (20).

vv. Mudanga, Matungúlu

Mushindjí 'Amund-ndalà,
Mushi u Asá'la a Galambu.

Descendant du nommé "Homme de chez"
de Gandala, le Champignon,
Homme de la plaine Gasala de Galambu.

Gasala est la plaine située à la rivière 'Kingu
(Le Tesson), affluent de la Musas-eji (ruisseau
Musasa).

v. 'Kisenga

Gatepa gákéngá,
Noni utú'lé gudi·lu.
Village Huit qui souffre,
Oiseau qui arriva au ciel.

v. Lui·tula.

Ganzaña gá miyétá,
Muafúní d Mulo·lu,
Mulo·lu d shitumba,
Shiá kuendéla.
G. qui s'embrouille par le grand nombre,
Frère cadet du Mulalu,
Le puissant Mulalu
Qu'on ose dévier.

Shitumba shiá kuendéla est du Lualu. Les gens de Luitula habitaient à côté des Balalu. Toute la moitié sud de la région des Babindji était occupée par des Balalu à l'arrivée des premiers vers 1820.

32. Bā Mbangu (Les circoncis)

v. Máté-tela

Mugá Mbangu u Ndzundzu,
'Kibindabinda 'ki mábóngó,
Homme du clan des circoncis de Ndzunduzu,..

v. Mudunga

Mushindjí 'A 'kibó·bú,
Mushindjí 'Atsalamambu,
Mushi muyinda u ndunga.
Descendant de Ga 'kibobu,

Descendant de Gatsala de Gamambu,
Qui possèdes le paquet de poivre.

v. Gamagása (L'homme nommé "Les Feuilles")

Gasenga gá misaga,
Gatsongo gánangá bidibu,
Mushi 'Kilambo a matumba.
Poignée de poudre des carquois,
Loutre qui aime les clochettes de chasse,
Homme de la puissante Sauterelle.

33. Ba· Pómbo

Tous

Mugá Pómbo á Niengi,
Mushi lubingu lí malu.
Homme du clan Pombo de Niengi,
Avec la calebasse de vin de palme.

Pombo est le nom clanique qui a primé les autres. Le kúmbu même indique qu'il y a aussi des Ba Ndaba (Niengi).

v. Ndúmba

Mua·ná mushí Gate·pa gá Bá Ndába.
Enfant du village Huit des Ba Ndaba.

v. Gadia·ta

Mua·ná mushí disanga a mäshi,
Uvíe·ta butá, uvíe·ta musaga,
Núange·ta mbandjí 'di d yí·tu,
Baluba báshine·ta hékéke.
Enfant de l'homme qui habite près de l'eau,
Qui porte l'arc et le carquois,
Vous avez choisi la proie pour les flèches qui
sont sur nous,
Les Baluba ont fait plus qu'assez.

Il est très probable qu'il s'agit ici, comme ailleurs où il est question des Baluba, des véritables Baluba, notamment de ceux qui sont à l'origine de la grande poussée Bindji vers 1820.

Une grande partie du village de Gadiata a un ancêtre commun avec les gens de Shawanga, Tshionza, Suana (Ba Busongo 34), qu'ils appellent Galumbu. Ce sont des Bashindji Alumbu. Voici le kúmbu de cette grande famille :

Mushindjí 'Alumbu,
'Kimbala 'kákavindá ngulà.
Descendant de Galumbu,

34. Ba. Búsóngó

Tous

Ba· Búsóngó bashindjí A 'kimuanga,
 Uā·di kó'ló uāndamanga gui·lu,
 Uā·di kó'ló Gambembá d 'Amujinga.
 Gens du clan Busongo descendants de G.,
 Tu étais escargot qui montait en haut,
 Tu étais escargot, toi "Le colimaçon" de
 l'homme, nommé "Le Cerne"

Le nom personnel Cambemba est un bel exemple de l'emploi que le Mbagani, selon le génie propre de sa littérature, sait faire des allégories.

vv. du groupement *Mátadi*

Mushi Gátumbá-tsala.
 Homme de Gatumba de Gatsala.

vv. du groupement Galumuanga

Ba·nd bashí gadindi gá ngani.

Enfants des hommes à la liane à caoutchouc d'acide.

Les vv. du groupement Mbuluku seraient des Baka Njiba. Ils ont aussi leur *kúmbu* dans cet idiome. Les vv. du groupement Shawanga, qui se disent des Ba Busongo parce qu'ils sont de la même souche que les gens de Sauna et pas du tout des Bana Nkuba (5), chefferie à laquelle ils appartiennent politiquement, ont leur signal commun avec Gadiata des Ba Pombo (33).

35. *Bashí 'Kisangá Patá* (Les hommes Recruteur du Heimat)

Tous

Lubá·lá, to·to,
To·to a buanga,
Ndú·nbú ubídiga,
Mvudila mupáta,
Gendú gá biga,
Ba·nd sanga.
 Longue tige d'herbe, pierre broyeuse,
 Pierre broyeuse de mauvais sort,
 Chahut qui ajoute,
 Le qui se multiplie de la plaine,
 Petit tam-tam d'esclaves,
 Enfants du rassemblement.

vv. du groupement *Múté·téla*

Bá ndumbu

Bashindjí 'Alubadí-énda.

Bashí ndumbu u bibinga,
Bashí mvudila mu-páta.
 Gens du lion,
 Descendants de Galubadi de Genda,
 Hommes du lion des profonds ravins,
 Qui vous multipliez dans la plaine.

v. *Shamue·na*

Descepdants du nommé "Homme de chez" de Gakongi,
 Ravin, enfants du rassemblement,
 Injuriés par des mauvaises-manières-de-parler.

Beaucoup se laissent tromper par le nom 'Kisangá Patá, par la ressemblance que l'on croit au moins superficielle avec la langue Luba. Y en a-t-il ? 'Kisangá est la forme génitive du nom 'Kisanga : celui qui fait acte de rassembler. Patá se traduit par le mot allemand : *Heimat*, et non pas par le mot : plaine.

Il y a trois dialectes dans ce groupement :

1. Le Luluá, aux villages de 'Kitogo, Malumalu, 'Kinyama, Ndambi Gashindiga.
2. Le Kete 'Kimuanga, Shamuena.
3. Le Bindji : Lembailembe, Gahungu, Ganie-mba, Mutetela, Ndambi a 'Kibala.

Par leur origine, tous sont des Babindji et ils ont hérité leur idiome de par leurs voisnages actuels. Seulement les gens de Shamuena, vivant isolés entre les Babindji, sont des Kete qui parlent le dialecte des Ba Kize (1).

36. *Bá Manga* (Les gens du clan "Les mauvais sorts")v. *Ndúmba*

Gapangá gá mulombi,
Vudiláni mupá mupáta.
 Petit mouton d'en dessous de l'arbre touffu,
 Croissez dans la plaine.

v. *'Kibungúmúnd*

Digindágindá dí mupáta,
Adína difú adína dítsa·pá.
 Roseau *digindá* (*Pennisetum Purpureum*) de la plaine,
 Qui meurt cette fois-ci, qui bourgeonne cette fois-là.

v. *Mulé·po**Muge·tágé·tá mudakù**Mushí Gapangula muāndji,**Gatsongo gánangá bidibu.*

(Toi) trouvé toujours coriace,

Homme de Gapangula et qui es comme lui,

Loutre qui aimes les sonnettes de chasse.

v. *Bashí Tsuingi·la**Gazanzá á mbulu,**Nzou lóngolo,**'Kídímá mutso·nò.*

Arbre déposoir de "L'homme à la figure aux petites verrues",

Eléphant qui sait régler tout,

Laboureur dans les herbes.

Le *gazanzá* est un arbre *mue·tà* (*lúkwángá* en Luba) où l'on va régulièrement déposer quelques feuilles, quelques herbes quand on va à la pêche, en l'honneur d'un ancêtre, connu pour ses connaissances dans cet art. Les herbes *tso·nò* (*Imperata cylindrica*) ont de très nombreuses et longues racines.

37. *Bashi Gápembá*v. *Galembá**Mugd Tsangù,**Mushí gate·pa munangina ndandu,**Mushí nzénzé, mushí 'kimuanda.*

Homme du clan "Les Semences",

Du village Huit qui a l'habitude d'hésiter,

Homme du cricri, qui est nombreux.

v. *'Kijiba**Muzumbizumbi lumana kúní,**Mugd 'Kisángá usangá i Báluba.*

Pluie de longue durée qui épouse la provision de bois de chauffage,

Homme du clan "Le Rassemblement" qui se mêle aux Baluba.

38. *Bashi Gashigu* (Les tourneurs de feu)v. *Kisenaga**Bashíndji 'Adiangala,**'Kinia·ta malumbu,**'Kiánangámína páta,*

Descendants de Gadiangala,

Qui foule les lances aux pieds,
Occupant de la plaine.v. *Sháwangá.**Mushíndji 'Aluzoyi;**Galuzoyi-túmbá,**'Kibundabunda 'kivula ndumba.*

Descendant de Galuzoyi,

Galuzoyi descendant de *Gatumba*,

Liane aux nombreux fruits.

v. *Gátua·la**Mushíndji 'Amuna-ndongo,**Gatsongo gánangá bidibu,**Igáni gúneagu,**Igáni gúneagu,**Magambu magambu mágú,**Nuénda gatsotso,**Nuénda gatsotso,*

Descendant du nommé "L'Homme de chez" de Gandongo,

Loutre qui aime les sonnettes de chasse,

Tes affaires, affaires,

Faites une marche forcée,

Les gens de *Gá'kilundú* et de *Gashindiga*, connus comme *Bashi Gashigu*, ne sont pas signalés dans dans ces lignes, qui font un seul *kúmbu*. Les *Bashi Gashigu* donnent comme raison : parce qu'ils ne sont pas de chez nous. Eux-mêmes disent toujours avoir "habité ensemble avec les *Bashi Galunga* (30). Voici leur *kúmbu* :

v. *Gáshindíga**Bashíndji 'Ayombo,**Genda munuanga,**Dijingá dí má·shi.*Descendants de *Gayombo*,

Genda faiseur de corbeilles aux fourmis,

Etang d'eau.

v. *Ga 'kilundú**Bashíndji 'Amundá-muamini,**Mushí gatsongo gánangá bidibu,**Genda minuanga.*Descendants du nommé "L'Homme de chez" de *Gamuamini*.

Homme de la loutre qui aime les sonnettes

Genda faiseur de corbeilles aux fourmis, (ou qui se bat avec les hampes de javelots).

C. LUALU

39. Baká Shitúi·ki

v. *Kane'ma* (L'homme qu'on honore)*Kafula ká· mdse.*

Poignée de farine de maïs.

v. *Pungi Idimba* (Le Cor du ravin)*Muká 'Nshingi á masángá,**Tua'yáni tua'yáni.*

Homme de la plaine Nshingi qui a une population dense,

Venez.

v. *Kasé·sé* (L'oiseau cisticola)*Nkoyi a mato.ta,**Kankónká ká butádi,**Kasambanu ká 'Mbúmba.*

Léopard tacheté,

Forte fourche d'arbre,

Village Six du nommé "Herbe Pennisetum Polystachion".

v. *Mómonò* (Le qui saute au dessus)*Mukd Shíná shía 'mbumbí,**Bi'shí mū ñingá diá 'nkondí,**Mpasu a maya'ya,**Muñshí kádúmá ká· matà,**Tua'yánì iku:*

Homme de Shina de l'artison,

Gens de la mare du crocodile,

Sauterelle des sauterelles-qui-volent-en-essaim (*mikumbi* en Luba).

Au sac de fusils,

Venez ici.

Les *maya'ya*, *mayangú* en Bindji, symbolisent les années grasses, où les sauterelles venant en véritables nuées, donnaient un copieux repas aux gens dont la principale maladie reste toujours la faim.

v. *Mpokò* (La machette).*Muká Shíná sh'a mbumbú á Shisa'ti,**Mulombí á Ndóngó wa mpokó á búkélé,**Mavuji md· 'mpémbe,**Tuta'yání mápúshi.*

Homme de Shina à l'artison de la forêt Shisati, Arbre m. de Nd. à la machette qui coupe la tête en une seule fois,

Poils de chèvre,
Venez en vitesse.La *mpokò* est une machette à deux tranchants, dont chacun possède encore deux proéminences aux extrémités.Le *mulombí*, le même des Babindji, est l'arbre touffu, image du grand nombre et aussi des hommes qui y préparent leurs armes.

Les Balualu coupaien la tête à l'ennemi vaincu. Bukele est l'acte de couper une tête en un seul coup. Ce bourreau était leur Kakele, nom propre répandu.

40. Bi'shi Kapelè (Les gens du village Kapele)

vv. *Müdyíla*, *Shilumb(i)*, *Kamondi(i)* *Kayánda**Kapelé ni Ipeneke,**Kák· 'mfumú á 'mpémbe,**Muñshí mü·ñdimbá diá 'ndába,**Luyambi á shikanga,**Malákdásá à kuyitoóshila,**Kúyí tuā kudi·la?**Mú 'nkóle túdí a kudi·la.*

Village Kapele du nommé "L'aigri",

Du propriétaire de la chèvre,

Habitant du puits à la terre rouge,

Lieu bien fermé où on dépêce (la chair humaine), Herbes Setaria Megaphylla qui bourdonnent seules,

Où irons-nous manger ?

Par la bravoure (à tuer l'ennemi) nous pourrons manger.

Le village Kapele était situé près de la colline de pierres du premier poste de la SEC de Yangwé-dji. Seuls les susdits sont des véritables Bishi Kapele.

L'herbe *ildkásá* est crainte pour les démangeaisons qu'elle occasionne. On la décèle puisqu'elle murmure au moindre vent. Images de l'irritabilité des Bishi Kapele.

vv. *Shilámbikilá*, *Múa·téyámu*, *Kabundá**Be·tú Muluá·lu a shitumba shía nkondí,**Mulua·lu a kuendéla,**Bitá kalondeke's(a),**Kapandú kanengene mvi·t(a).*

Nous Mulualu de force de crocodile,

Qu'on ose défier,

Le nommé "La Bataille" préparateur de la guerre,
Nasse qui aime la guerre.

Ce *kúmbu* a encore été employé en son véritable sens, vers 1910, avec Mukalenge ·Mandefu.

vv. Sha·pula, Múkúmbulá, Mbuanisa

Mulombí wá mu-Isonzo diá busungá,
Shilandi ya Mbándu,
Muká Mukungé a nkájí;
Mukoji á banshina wa kumuzwá·te ?
M. du village Isonzo à la poudre,
(Du clan) Shilandi de la femme Mbandu,
Du clan Mukunga de la femme,
La bandelette (de front) aux poux est-ce qu'on
la porte ?

La *busungá*, *budodo* en Bindji, est de la poudre indigène. On prend de l'amadou du palmier élaïs ensemble avec un silex ; ce *busungá* s'allume par le frottement d'un morceau de fer.

41. Bishí Kábíndá

vv. Kántsélé, Mayimbù, Ndúmba

Seuls ces trois villages dépendent de la mission de Tshibala.

Kibindabinda kiá Muká Ndolò,
Túa·ni kúnó·ku,
Mu-idzandza múdi 'ndáká,

Luāiteku déndéndé,
Luakila mutónido,
Ngálukélá míntu be.
Bataillon du clan de Ndolo,
Venez ici.
A la plaine il y a des voix,
Prenez-y sans lâcher,
Seul un arbre laissez,
Je ne laisserai passer un homme.

v. Kántsélé

Muká Mpika a Ntsdyí á Buanga
Muká Lubútá ká· Mpika,
Mui·shí Kilambo a migeta,
Tuá·ni kúnó·ku,
Badi ngé· luhúla,
Tudi ngé· be·húla.

Toi du clan Mpika de Ntsayi de Buanga,
Du clan maternel Lubuta de Mpika,
De la Sauterelle aux balles,
On vous appelle,
Nous les appelons.

La lettre *e* de *ngé· be·hula* est prononcée *é* de pénétrer, seule exception dans tout ce receuil.

A comparer ces quelques *kúmbu* des Balualu avec eux des Babindji, on voit de suite que les premiers sont moins doux que les derniers. Ils en ont les apparences. On ne pourrait affirmer que la tribu Bindji ait été cannibale.

III

CLANS ET VILLAGES

de la Mission de Tshibala d'après la dénomination actuelle des groupes et des villages.

Le nom des chefs claniques est en caractère romain. La présentation ne correspond pas toujours avec la division politique.

BAKETE

1. Ba Kize

Bá· Kápongó

Bá· Mújibdyí

Bá· Tuki

Bunku

Kátshikabudángá

Tshie·pela

Bá 'Mbáláyí

Bána Kimbu

Bánd Díkata

Bánd Mábúayí

Bá· Kiénze

Tshíkota

Kidámúlómbo

Mángénda

Múzembá

Tshídumúkómbo

2. Ba Kapinga

Bána Kibayí

Bána Galongó

Gaséndámi

Kibabi

3. Bayombo		9. Ba Tshikuni
Bánda 'Nkuna	Mákú·di	Tshitupa
Bánda Muyà	Tshitupa	10. Bashi Muluamba
Bánda Gapindà	Ngálá Kabátá	Gabulugu
Bana Ti·mpa	Máta·di	
4. Baka Njiba		11. Bashi Gawayi
Bashi Galangá	Múzó·di	Bashi Gawayi
Bánda MúKongo	Katshabala	Bashi Mutaba
	Tshibandama	Bá Muangala
Ba Mbíji	Tshikangu	Bashi Gamíki
Bánda Tshibila	'Ntambue	Bashi Kiniengi
Bánda 'Mbóngó	'Ngúvu	Bá Mamba
Bdka 'Ndáyì	'Mbulé Misómbo	Bá Tuembà
	Muéndela	Bashi Gakubá
5. Bana Nkuba		12. Bashi Genda Bushi
Bánda Kaðdi	Kakungula-Mupoyi	Bashi Gabusà
Bánda Múkónke	Múzámþá	Bashi mu-'Kiba·la
Bánda Kábunda	Mukéndí	Bashi Tusue·ta
Bdka Tshi·ka	Kásumbi	Bashi mu-Ndjimbu
6. Bana Kasambuyi		Bashi mu-Amasángú
Bdka 'Nkéngé	'Nkelendende	Bashi Gabungu
Bána 'Ngándú	Tshiséngá	13. Ba Lemu
Báka 'Ndáyì	Múnanga	Bashi Gate·pa
7. Bena Tshilambo		Bá Muanza
Bé·ná Kásúbá	Kamuanga Mafuta	Bá Muanza
Bdka 'Ngónya	Lúkanda	Bashi Gandu
Bé·ná 'Mpúma	'Nsoká-Kásá·sula	Bashi 'Kibayi
Bé·ná Tshíaba	Kákoba	Bashi Gatala
Bé·ná Díe·bú	Múlá·dílá	Bashi Gate·pa
Bé·ná Mísúmbá	'Mbólóndo	14. Ba Mutshima
Bé·ná Shabangi	Mála·la	Bashi Malambu
7'. Bana Tshibundji		Bashi Mangu
Bána Tshikabu	Kasómbo	Bashi 'Kiembilu
Bána Kámuaniga	Bíkóngoló	Bashi mu A'kiandu
Bána Tshibundji	Kavieta	Bá Lubila
Bá Kalubi	Mákudi	Bá Tanda
Bána Bisambu	Máfupa	Bá Tamba
		Bashi ba A'kimbiù
		Bá Ngandu
		Bá Mbembà
		Bá Mugdá
BABINDJI		
8. Bashi 'Kilambo		15. Ba Musenga
Bashi Dibungú	Mángénda Gamaza	Bashi Gashigu
Bashi 'Kilambo	Gabamba-Gaputa	Bá Mbulu
Bashi Gabusà	Mángénda Gatsala	

<i>Bashi mu-Angudi</i>	<i>Musambayi</i>	22. <i>Baka Bala</i>	
<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>'Kilémbi</i>	<i>Ba· Lúbá·lá</i>	<i>Mayungù</i>
<i>Bashi mu A'kiengadi</i>	<i>Gabowu</i>	<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>Gakoba</i>
16. <i>Ba Mbuji</i>		<i>Bashi Ko'lo</i>	<i>'Kinyámda-'Kiona</i>
<i>Bashi mu Abambundu</i>	<i>Gamambu</i>	<i>Bashi Cawayi</i>	<i>'Kilámbiliú</i>
<i>Bashi mu Amalue·la</i>	<i>Gaba·ta</i>	23. <i>Ba Mbui</i>	
<i>Bashi mu 'Kibongù</i>	<i>Gabuangatsoga</i>	<i>Bashi 'Kia·ba·ba</i>	<i>Shamikalenga</i>
<i>Bashi mu Andamu</i>	<i>Gendamángú</i>		<i>Gapalanga</i>
<i>Bashi mu Abakoyi</i>	<i>Malala</i>	<i>Bashi Mushishidi</i>	<i>Bumba</i>
<i>Bashi Ndunda</i>	<i>Gandángá</i>	<i>Bashi Pagasa</i>	<i>Gaséndámi</i>
<i>Bashi 'Kilunda</i>	<i>Dipangu</i>	<i>Bashi Mbamba</i>	<i>Fuámbá</i>
<i>Bā Mugoyi</i>	<i>Gabuni</i>	<i>Bashi Pfílumáyì</i>	<i>'Kigoga</i>
16'. <i>Bashi Nzenze</i>	<i>Gamaléngá</i>	<i>Bashi Gamua·shi</i>	<i>Mútondò</i>
16''. <i>Bashi Iyasa</i>	<i>Gamuzalà-'Ilunga</i>	<i>Bashi Gabilu</i>	<i>Múzó·di</i>
17. <i>Ba Tsangu</i>		<i>Ba· Mbú 'Alémbá</i>	<i>'Kitógo</i>
<i>Bashi mu Pé·tá</i>	<i>Mutafu</i>	<i>Bashi Gate·bu</i>	<i>'Kisúyi</i>
<i>Bashi mu 'Kiendji</i>	<i>Gálá·dilá</i>	24. <i>Ba Gumba</i>	
<i>Bashi mu Dinganza</i>	<i>Shíbala</i>	<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>Gahungula</i>
<i>Bā Mbulu</i>	<i>Gambanza</i>	<i>Bashi Mutombó</i>	<i>Gandumbu</i>
<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>Lembalemba</i>	<i>Bashi Kongo</i>	<i>Losa</i>
18. <i>Ba Lubiji</i>		<i>Bashi Mbombokoto</i>	<i>Gásóngó</i>
<i>Bashi mu 'Kienji</i>	<i>Gá·kieu</i>	<i>Bashi Gamikalu</i>	<i>Máyi</i>
<i>Bashi Gaba·ta</i>	<i>Mue·vu</i>	<i>Bashi Gamana</i>	<i>Gángómí</i>
<i>Ba· Lúbá·lá</i>	<i>Gáne·ma</i>	<i>Bā Putu</i>	<i>Gániémba</i>
<i>Bashi Luyanga</i>	<i>Gasugu</i>	25. <i>Ba Tshimba</i>	
<i>Bashi mu Abibá</i>	<i>Má·lu</i>	<i>Bashi Ndambu</i>	<i>Galumbu</i>
19. <i>Bashi Ga'kie·ma Gabowu</i>		<i>Bashi Die·na</i>	<i>Gádiá·tá</i>
20. <i>Bashindji Amujinga</i>		<i>Bashi Muanga</i>	<i>,Kiasangombi</i>
<i>Bashi mu Gawayi</i>	<i>'Kigo·jí</i>	<i>Bashi Kindéngí</i>	<i>'Kia·sangúlá</i>
<i>Bashi mu Abugala</i>	<i>Gáyá·na</i>	<i>Bashi Gabau</i>	<i>Kinyámda</i>
<i>Bashi Kongo</i>	<i>'Kiamulómbo</i>	26. <i>Bashi 'Kilunda</i>	
<i>Bashi mu Nganza</i>	<i>Mángénda</i>	<i>Bashi Kimenga</i>	<i>Mágúdi</i>
<i>Bashi Pé·ti</i>	<i>Gambamba</i>	<i>Bashi Galoba</i>	<i>'Kimbundu</i>
<i>Bashi Ndambu</i>	<i>Mulo·lu</i>	<i>Bashi Gandambu</i>	<i>'Kiba·tá</i>
<i>Bashi Gambidi</i>	<i>Gamondji</i>	<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>Gábamba</i>
21. I . <i>Gumb</i>		<i>Bashindji 'Andakámábd</i>	<i>Gayénke</i>
<i>Ba· 'Kino·no</i>	<i>Wazumá-mbúmbulá</i>	<i>Bashi Gatalà</i>	<i>'Kitadi</i>
<i>Bashi Tsagádtá</i>	<i>Fuamba</i>	<i>Bashi 'Kilunda</i>	<i>Múshidi</i>
<i>Bashi Gasenga</i>	<i>Mángénda</i>	27. <i>Bashi 'Kibayi</i>	
<i>Bashi Ga'kie·má</i>	<i>Kuendá</i>	<i>Bashi Gate·pa</i>	<i>Mángénda</i>
<i>Bashi mu Ahunza</i>	<i>Gam(-b-)(-p-)ulu</i>	<i>Bashi Gabinda</i>	<i>Múgóma</i>
<i>Bashi i Mbambá</i>	<i>Bungama</i>	<i>Bashi Tsangana</i>	<i>Fuámbá</i>
		<i>Bashi Mugolo</i>	<i>'Kijómá</i>
		<i>Bashi Gawayi</i>	<i>Galemba</i>

28. Ba Lubuta		Bashí Galambu	Sháwangà
Bashindjí 'Abápe·tshí	Ndú·mba	Bashí Músului·ji	Tshio·zá
Bashí Musálá·tshí	Muzuimblí		
Bashí Gajíba	Mupangu		
Bashí Mukokoto	Nzundila	35. Bashi 'Kisanga Pata	Gániemba
Bashí Galambu	'Kingununu	Bā Ndu·mbu	Mutetela
Bashí Gatálama	Lembalemba	Bashí Gatumba	Ndámbi á 'Kibala
29. Bashi Mbói		Bashí Gábayi	Shamue·na
Bashindjí 'Amuyówú	Kongolo Muneni	Ba' Liápá·lá	Gáhungu
Bashí Gamugala	Kongolo		Má·lumá·lú
Bashindjí 'Atú·mbá	'Kitápá		'Kínyámá
Bashindjí 'Apanda	Múté·bá		Ndámbi Gáshindigá
Bashí Gadikóbó	Músemba	Bashí Galundú	'Kitógo
30. Bashi Galunga		Bashí Gapashi	Lembalemba
Bashí 'Kimbungú	Múshi·tu		'Kímuángá
Bashí Gashinga	'Kisenga	36. Ba Manga	Galamba-Múayilá
Bashí Gashílá	Gánigundá	Bashindjí 'Apangu	Nduma
Bashí Ga'kibá	Gambulu	Bashí bdi· Ndamba	Mulé·po
Bashí Gate·pa	Koyi	Bashí Mayindá	'Kibungumíndá
31. Ba Ndaba		Bashí Tsui·ngila	'Kímuángá
Bashí muNdzalc	Mángénda		
Bashí muAmatungúlú	Matungúlú	37. Bashi Gapemba	Gáfuba
Bashí muKabo·nu	Magudi	Bashí Ndu·mbu	'Kijúba
Bashí guMá·shi	Lui·tula	Bashí Dianza	Galembà
Bashí Gate·pa	'Kisenga	Bā Tsangú	
Bashí muAkálá	Mudanga	38. Bashi Gashigu	
32. Ba Mbangu		Bashindjí 'Adiangala	'Kisenga
Bashindjí 'A'kibó·bú	Mudunga	Bashindjí 'Aluzóyi	Sháwangà
	Kasha Mitsakò	Bashí Gamuangatshi	Muanga
Bā Mbangu	Máté·tela	Bashindjí 'Amunándongo	Gátu'a·la
	Kasha Mugulu	Ba' Lubútá	Gáshindigá
Ba' Yibála	Gamagásá	Bashí Tsalala	Ga'kilundú
33. Ba Pombo			BALUALU
Bā Nddba	Ndumba	39. Baka Shituiki	
Ba' Pómbo	Gadia·ta	Bi·shí Kafula	Kane·ma
34. Ba Busongo		Baká 'Nshingí	Pungi Idimba
Bashí Gabungu	Gániémba-Gdbamlí	Bi·shí mu Nkoyi	Kasé·scé
Bashí Kongo	Gáluemuanga	Bi·shí mu Mpasu	Momono
Bashí Magulu	Sua·na	Balombí	Mpokò
Ba' Búsóngó	Matadi	Baká Shiná	Shimvúla
Bashí 'Kimbala	Gabudágála	40. Bishi Kapele	
Bashí muAnangana	Mákolokoto	Baká 'Nkéngé	Müd·téyámvu
Bánd Káníngu	Mbúlugú	Balombí	Shilámbikilá

<i>Bi·shi muizaba</i>	<i>Mükúmbulá</i>	<i>Be·na Katempa</i>	<i>Kántséle</i>
<i>Bi·shi mūIngilu</i>	<i>Kabundù</i>	<i>Be·na Kawayi</i>	<i>Mutende</i>
<i>Bi·shi muLumbundu</i>	<i>Kane·ma</i>	<i>Be·na Ma·là</i>	<i>Gabototo</i>
<i>Bi·shi Muntsalá d</i>		<i>Be·na Katempa</i>	<i>Lembelembé</i>
<i>Kalongà</i>	<i>Shapula</i>	<i>Balombi</i>	<i>Gabuanga</i>
<i>Bi·shi Kangadima</i>	<i>Kámondjí</i>	<i>Be·na Shio·fo</i>	<i>Galembamba·le</i>
<i>Bi·shi muNzambi</i>	<i>Mudyíla</i>	<i>Be·na Shilema</i>	<i>Galembu</i>
<i>Bi·shi muDinganza</i>	<i>Kayá·nda</i>	<i>Be·na muNzaji</i>	<i>Kambiyí d Nzámbala</i>
<i>Bi·shi muKananga</i>	<i>Shílumbi</i>		
41. Bishi Kabinda			
<i>Bi·shi muKazá·di</i>	<i>Ndumba</i>		
<i>Baká 'Mbínda</i>	<i>Mayimbu</i>		

Cette liste demande à être complétée par d'autres noms. Un village est dénommé autrement par ses voisins de l'est et autrement par ceux de l'ouest. Ce sont les noms les plus usités.

IV

REPARTITION CLANIQUE ET LINGUISTIQUE

du territoire de la Mission Catholique de Tshibala

A. BAKETE

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Bá· Ki·ze</i> | 5. <i>Bándá 'Nkuba</i> |
| 2. <i>Bá Kapinga</i> | 6. <i>Bándá Kásámbuyi</i> |
| 3. <i>Báyómbó</i> | 7. <i>Béná Tshilámbó</i> |
| 4. <i>Báká Njibá</i> | 7'. <i>Báná Tshibundji</i> |

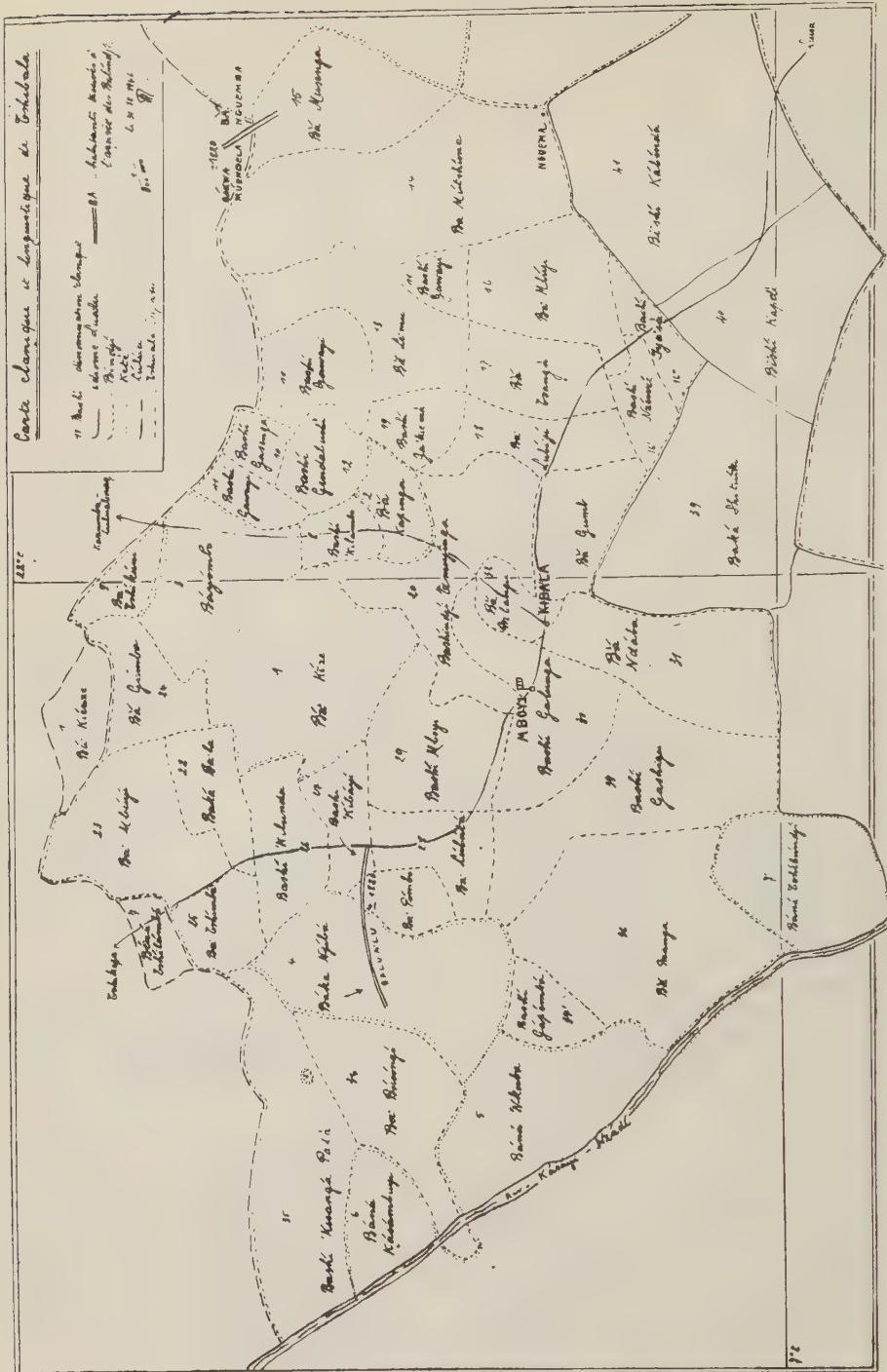
B. BAMBAGANI ou BABINDJI

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 8. <i>Bashí 'Kilambo</i> | 14. <i>Bá· Mútshima</i> |
| 9. <i>Bá· Tshikúni</i> | 15. <i>Bá· Musenga</i> |
| 10. <i>Bashí Gasenga</i>
(<i>Múliúamba</i>) | 16. <i>Bá· Mbuiji</i> |
| 11. <i>Bashí Gawayi</i> | 16'. <i>Bashí Nzénzé</i> |
| 12. <i>Bashí Genda-bushi</i> | 16''. <i>Bashí Iya·sá</i> |
| 13. <i>Bá Le·mu</i> | 17. <i>Bá Tsangú</i> |
| | 18. <i>Bá· Lubúti</i> |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 19. <i>Bashí Ga'kie·má</i> | 29. <i>Bashí Mboyi</i> |
| 20. <i>Bashindji 'Amujinga</i> | 30. <i>Bashí Galunga</i> |
| 21. <i>Bá Gumb(a)</i> | 31. <i>Bá Ndába</i> |
| 22. <i>Baká Ba·la</i> | 32. <i>Bá Mbangu</i> |
| 23. <i>Bá· Mbúyi</i> | 33. <i>Bá· Pómbo</i> |
| 24. <i>Bá Gumba</i> | 34. <i>Bá· Búsóngó</i> |
| 25. <i>Bá· Tshimbá</i> | 35. <i>Bashí 'Kisangá Patá</i> |
| 26. <i>Bashí 'Kilunda</i> | 36. <i>Bá Manga</i> |
| 27. <i>Bashí 'Kibáyi</i> | 37. <i>Bashí Gápémábá</i> |
| 28. <i>Bá· Lubútd</i> | 38. <i>Bashí Gashigu</i> |

C. BALUALU

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 39. <i>Baká Shitúi·ki</i> | 40. <i>Bi·shi Kapelé</i> |
| | 41. <i>Bi·shi Kábindá</i> |



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Mrs A. W. Hoernlé—We warmly congratulate Mrs. Hoernlé on the well-deserved honour done her by the conferment of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of the Witwatersrand at the graduation ceremony, held in March 1949. Following is the citation read when the degree was conferred by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. H. R. Raikes :

"Agnes Winifred Tucker was born in Kimberley but removed with her parents to Johannesburg before the South African War. She received her secondary education at Miss Buckland's school, which later became the Johannesburg Girls' High School, and at the Wesleyan Girls' School in Grahamstown. She commenced her University studies at the South African College, Cape Town, in 1906, and graduated in 1908, one of the first women to obtain the B.A. degree of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. She was awarded the Porter postgraduate scholarship and proceeded to Cambridge to study social anthropology under Dr. A. C. Haddon. She spent some time also at the Universities of Bonn and Paris. During 1912 and 1913 she undertook research on the Khoisan people of South West Africa, twice visiting that territory for the purpose, and the results were published in some memorable papers. She married the late Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé in 1913. When he came to Johannesburg in 1923 to assume his appointment as Professor of Philosophy in the University, she was appointed Research Fellow and Lecturer in Ethnology. The title of her appointment was later changed to Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, and she held this post until her resignation in 1936. She established the study of Social Anthropology in the University and trained and inspired a number of gifted South Africans who have subsequently made important contributions to knowledge in the field in which she was the pioneer.

"After her retirement from academic life, she devoted herself to the public work in which she had always been interested. Her concern has been for the welfare of children and of the less-privileged sections of the population. She presided over the Child Welfare Organization in Johannesburg for many years. Her assistance in the drafting of the Social Welfare Bill was only one of the many services she rendered as a member of the Johannesburg Social Welfare Board. She is a member of the Executive of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The women of the Transvaal Indian Community are deeply indebted to her for their advancement in education and status. She is Chairman of the Moroka Advisory Board to which she was elected by the inhabitants of the township. She has recently served with distinction as a member of the Penal Reform Commission, and her personal contribution is one of the most important parts of the Commission's report. Many other bodies have benefited from her wise advice and unselfish labours.

"In conferring an honorary degree on her, the University will pay tribute not only to her pioneering work in Social Anthropology in South Africa, but also, and more especially, to her noble and distinguished service in the cause of social progress, whereby she has brought much honour to the University with which she was so long associated."

* * *

Constitutional Reform in Nyasaland. News has just been received of the appointment for the first time of three non-European unofficial members—two African and one Asiatic—to the Nyasaland Legislative Council. The Governor, Mr. Geoffrey Colby, announced that they had been appointed for a period of three years from February 8. In addition, the Legislative Council

will in future include three further official members.

On November 29, 1948, it was announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech Jones, had approved a proposal by the Government of Nyasaland that the membership of the Legislative Council should be increased to include two African unofficial members, one Asiatic unofficial member and three additional official members, and that these appointments would be made as soon as possible after January 1949. The Secretary of State agreed with the conclusions reached by the Protectorate Government, after consulting local opinion, that the policy aim should continue to be an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council, and that the introduction of a new constitution will be further considered after experience of the working of the enlarged Legislative Council.

The Nyasaland Protectorate has a total population of nearly 2½ millions, including 2,220,000 Africans, 2,200 Europeans and 3,700 Asiatics and others. The former Nyasaland Legislative Council consisted of six official members, and six unofficials of whom five were nominated by the Governor on the advice of unofficial bodies, and the six chosen from among the missionary organizations and charged specifically with the representation of African interests. In the present enlarged Legislative Council, the official members are now increased from six to nine, and the six European unofficial members are reinforced by the one Asiatic and two African members, thus making a grand total of 18, in addition to the Governor, who acts as President. With the broadening of the Nyasaland Legislative Council to include Africans, there is now African representation on the Legislatures of all the British territories in Africa for which the Colonial Office is responsible, with the exception of British Somaliland, where civil administration was only resumed in November 1948.

* * *

Makerere College School of Art. An exhibition of paintings, carvings, terra cottas and textiles, the work of students of the School of Art at

Makerere College, was opened at the Imperial Institute in South Kensington, London, on February 8.

The Makerere College School of Art, which has supplied the works shown at the present exhibition, started in the mid-1930's as a group of enthusiastic African painters and sculptors who practised their art in their spare time. A small exhibition of their paintings was held in 1938 and was sent to England in 1939; it was put on show at the Imperial Institute and made a favourable impression on the art critics in London.

In 1939, the school became part of the Faculty of Art of Makerere College. Art is now an optional course in the College time-table and there is a full-time three-year art course for students who are training to be art teachers, book illustrators, and for other vocations; other students may take art as one of their major subjects.

The remarkable progress in the development of the Makerere College School of Art has been due to the work of Mrs. Margaret Trowell, the Senior Lecturer in Art. Her work was well described by the Governor of Uganda in a speech at the opening of the Makerere Art Exhibition in 1947. The Governor said: "Mrs. Trowell has guided without unduly circumscribing the natural development of art in this country, making of it something that is living and growing and with its roots in the country . . . she has striven to help East Africans to foster an art of their own, to develop their natural talents and their approach to painting and sculpture."

* * *

Northern Rhodesia: Broadcast to Africans. An interesting series of talks for Africans is at present being given by the Central African Broadcasting system at Lusaka, capital of Northern Rhodesia. The series is being given by Government officials on various aspects of African local government, and the talks are broadcast in several African languages.

Vernacular broadcasts to Africans in Northern Rhodesia, including village news, talks, plays, and Native music, have been given for some years from the Lusaka Broadcasting Station, which has

a powerful transmitter. As a result of a Central African Council proposal in 1948, it was decided to centralize at Lusaka all African broadcasts for Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to provide a more co-ordinated and efficient service. The scheme is financed mainly from the £1 million regional allocation to Central Africa under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The centralized programmes to the three territories, in various Native vernaculars, began in mid-1948; each of the three Governments provides broadcasting material for its own territory.

The Council have further agreed to establish, with the approval of the three Governments, an Advisory Board for African Broadcasting.

* * *

Leprosy Relief in Nigeria. One of the gravest medical and economic problems confronting the Government of Nigeria is the large number of people in the country suffering from leprosy. In some areas of the territory the incidence of the disease is as high as 50 to 60 per 1,000, and latest estimates put the number of lepers at 400,000 out of a total estimated population of about 22,000,000. In recent years, however, there has been a four-fold increase in the number of sufferers undergoing treatment, and at present there are 37,000 patients receiving regular attention. Most of these are out-patients.

This vast increase in the number of sufferers being treated has been made possible through the formation in 1945 of a Government Leprosy Control Service which is operating a Ten-Year Plan for the relief of leprosy in Nigeria. The total cost of the plan is estimated at £1 million of which £450,870 has been allocated to the first five-year period, 1945 to 1950. Towards expenditure in the first five years, a grant of £428,875 has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, the remainder being provided by contributions from the Nigerian Government and the Native Authorities. The whole scheme is being dealt with separately from the general programme for the development of medical services in the Colony.

Typical of the modern lepers' segregation village is that at Nkanu in the Udi Division of Onitsha Province, which is part of the Udi Development Scheme. There, the Nkanu Clan have set aside two square miles of rich land for their lepers and have voluntarily cleared the site and erected the buildings for the settlement. The village includes a staff quarters, a village hall, a clinic and a small hospital. Native administration funds were paid for imported building materials, but all labour and other materials were provided free of charge by the Nkanu people. In addition, small grants have been made from Nigerian Government and Development and Welfare funds.

Admission to the village is on a voluntary basis and most of the lepers grow their own food. Those who are unable to manage a small farm are given light tasks for which they are paid a small wage with which to buy their food. Social amenities, including games, musical instruments and elementary education are provided by the official and unofficial bodies who pay regular visits to the settlement. There is also regular medical supervision and frequent visits by the local Administrative Officer.

* * *

African Loan Words. We have received the following contribution from Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys:

"Acculturation has been described as the mutual inter-action between two different cultures when in continuous contact. One of these inter-actions is the use each culture makes of the technical words of the other. In South Africa many European words are being absorbed into the Bantu languages. The absorption is not unilateral. Bantu words are absorbed into European languages. The very word Bantu itself is one such borrowing."

"The Bantu-speaking negroes occupy Africa roughly south of the tenth degree north latitude and long before Europeans made contact with the Bantu they were making contacts with the Sudanic speaking negroes of West Africa especially in the days of the African slave trade. During that period a number of Negro words were incorporated into the English language.

"Now the great Oxford English Dictionary, besides being a dictionary, also provides one with the history of each word. The word's earliest printed use is recorded by a quotation giving its source and its date. The following remarks draw attention to two words that I came across while reading through some of the early voyages and travels to the west coast of Africa. These two words occur in the Oxford Dictionary but the sources which I have found are earlier than those recorded in the dictionary and hence are set forth here so that the information may be available when the Oxford Dictionary is revised.

"Cabocceer. A Portuguese word used on the West African coast for headman, or chief. The earliest reference for the use of the word *cabocceir* in English is given as 1836. The word appears in the English edition of Bosman's *Coast of Guinea* which was published a hundred and thirty one years earlier, i.e. in 1705 in London. The following extract which comes from a republished edition of Bosman, runs thus : "The second, their *Cabocero's* or chief men ; which reducing to our manner of expression, we should be apt to call them Civil Fathers ; whose Province is only to take care of the welfare of the City or village and to appease any tumult". (BOSMAN, W. *A New*

and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea. 132. London : 1907.)

"Bukra. The earliest reference to the use of this African word is given as 1794. There is an earlier instance of the use in English of this word, thus : "On this [the stealing of a native mistress by a European slaver] the king [Tom of Sierra Leone] complained to him [Sir George Young, a captain in the navy on the African Coast 1767-1772] very heavily and begged him to apply to his brother George [meaning our King] to get her restored to him. This, king Tom called bukra, or whiteman's panyaring." (Abridgement of the minutes of Evidence. Slave Trade 1790. Sir George Young speaking.)

"As Sir George Young left the West Coast of Africa in 1772, this word *bukra* must have been in use before that date. I have discussed the origin of this word *bukra* in *Africa*. 505. October 1932."

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We gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of the *South African Architectural Record* for preparing the blocks used by us in the two articles by Mr. James Walton entitled "South African Peasant Architecture" in Volume 7, No. 4, and in this issue of *African Studies*. The articles are also published in their journal.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Water Transport. Origins and Early Evolution. HORNELL, J. (Cambridge University Press : 1946.) xv+309 pp. with 69 text figures, 46 plates, map, bibliography and index. 30/-.

The book is well produced and is divided into three parts :

- (a) Floats, rafts and kindred craft, five chapters ;
- (b) Skin boats, five chapters ; and
- (c) Bark canoes, dugouts and plank built craft, nine chapters.

The author is highly qualified for his task. Trained as a biologist he specialized on fisheries in the Government service of India and Ceylon and became Fishery Adviser to the Governments of Sierra Leone, Malta, Palestine, Mauritius, Seychelles, Baroda and Fiji. In addition he has conducted investigations in Baluchestan, Indo-China, China and Japan, the Malay Archipelago and Polynesia, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Sudan, Red Sea, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Madagascar, Mozambique and Angola, as well as in Europe. Here it can be seen that Mr. Hornell has

first class, first hand information of his subject over three quarters of the world. This knowledge has been augmented by studies of material conducted in the great museums of the world in all continents and by extensive reading. One thus realizes that Mr. Hornell ranks among the first experts in this branch of knowledge.

In its factual data no other book on the origins of water transport can compare with this one. The author by his grouping takes the development of watercraft from its earliest beginnings up to plank built vessels using wind power.

His handling of his collected data is admirable but there is inevitable controversy over his theory of the origin of the development of constructed watercraft.

It is in group (a) that most of the controversy lies. One is faced with the problems of independent invention and development: independent invention and convergence and diffusion. Mr. Hornell provides ample data for support of all these points of view. He speaks of the early evolution of watercraft and implies that the drifting log used as a primitive means of water transport can be seen as the remote ancestor of such craft as the Queen Elizabeth. That such development occurred in the waters around the fertile crescent is clear but that similar developments occurred elsewhere is unlikely. One has the distribution of the oculos from along the maritime coasts stretching from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Yangtse. Such boats were called hawks by the Egyptians—Rafael Sabatine wrote a famous novel called *Sark-el-Bahr*, The Seahawk, dealing with the Arab pirates of the Mediterranean—and such boats with 'eyes painted on the prows are called birds in Melanesia. Mr. Hornell stresses the evolution of water transport but says little of the degeneration or loss of such an art—e.g. it had been lost among the Guanches of the Canaries, and Rivers drew attention to the loss of this art in Polynesia.

The use of a plain log as a means of transport is not possible, as one is reminded of the fate of the captain of a torpedoed ship carrying logs in the 1914-18 war. He spent hours trying to remain on a round log but it always rolled and

threw him into the sea. Hornell mentions that this type of transport is used in Africa only in Ashanti (p. 17). He does not explain how one maintains ones position on such transport. Professor Kirby, of the Witwatersrand University, has two such trimmed logs as used by the Koranna. These logs some six feet long have a stake about fifteen inches long sticking out a foot or so from one end. Such a projection is effective against rolling. An interesting belief may be recorded here. "The Borneo head-hunters believe that the soul crosses a stream into the spirit world on the 'great log'." (FURNESS. *Headhunters*. 62.) This belief of spirits crossing the river of death has its centre of origin in the fertile crescent and one sees here "learned behaviour" as such a cult of the dead is linked to their primitive means of transport.

Hornell says that single gourds (p. 5) are used on Lake Chad to support fishing nets. In the estuaries of the Cross and other Nigerian rivers, two or more anchored gourds carry, slung between them, fishing lines with baited hooks.

The surf-board of Hawai (p. 4) finds an analogue in the boards used to traverse the mud-flats of the Andoni and Cross river creeks in Southern Nigeria. Parts of broken up canoes are used for skimming over the mud. The occupant lies flat on the board and propels himself by his limbs in the mud.

Other parts of Africa, not mentioned by Hornell where gourd or calabash rafts are used are (a) Southern and (b) Northern Nigeria. Thus, (a) Bowen, J. T. (*Central Africa*. 174. Halifax : 1857) writes : "As usual in Yoruba, the people have no canoes. Things are carried over on large gourds, which contain sufficient air to float three or four hundred pounds." (b) Migeod, F. W. A. (*Through Nigeria to Lake Chad*. p. 233. London : 1924) mentions gourd rafts at Geidam. The use of gourds instead of canoes by the Yoruba living on the densely forested banks of the Ogun river is an interesting commentary on (a) diffusion ; (b) lack of inventiveness. The Yoruba claim to have come from the north-east ; the region where, as Hornell shows, the gourd raft first appeared. Though there is ample timber to make large canoes the Yoruba did not make them.

Reed floats, made out of the mid ribs of palms are found in use in the marshes of the Nun in the French Cameroons. (GORGES, E. H. *The Great War in West Africa*. p. 244. London : ?) Now these craft were used by the Bamum, a Tikar group and the Tikars claim to come from the environs of Bornu. There is plenty of timber around the marshes of the Nun to make canoes but, like the gourd floats of the Yoruba, one has the reed floats of the Bamum as instances of diffusion. The information and evidence supplied by Hornell in this book makes the protestations of certain American Anthropologists look thin and unsound and the line of demarcation shown by N. C. Nelson in his map, (BOAZ, ED. *General Anthropology* New York : 1938. p. 220) will in time disappear.

The influence, again that of diffusion, of western craftsmanship and design upon the seacraft in the Indian and other more eastern oceans, is described on pages 238 et seq.

Hornell describing the boats in the delta of the Ganges points out the great similarity between their design and those of ancient Egypt and attributes the similarities to parallel development. However, on page 252 the similarities in the river craft of the Ganges are attributed to the influence of Egypt. "To anyone having acquaintance with the types of craft used in ancient days, the fundamental identity of these characteristics with those possessed by the boats of dynastic Egypt is too striking and comprehensive to be accepted as the result of coincidence or parallel development."

Another nautical diffusion described by Hornell is that of the outrigger canoe. "The focal point in its distribution, past as well as present, centres in the island world of Indonesia stretching from Sumatra in the west to the fringe of New Guinea in the east. Thence it was spread, partly by cultural diffusion but mainly by migration, throughout Oceania, until to-day it covers the whole of Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia (the Solomons excepted). In times long gone it was carried even as far as lonely Easter Island by intrepid Polynesian voyagers sailing into unknown seas with splendid recklessness. To the

west it spread to Ceylon, India, East Africa and Madagascar. To-day its influence, still active, has reached out to the western coast of South America, where, on the coast of Ecuador, a crude outrigger canoe has been introduced, probably through Spanish influence." (p. 253.)

Double canoes are found in various parts of the world as Hornell points out. He makes no mention of their existence in Africa. Sir Richard Burton noticed off Kinsembo that "some of the dug-outs are in pairs, like the Brazilian Ajoujo ; the sides are lashed together, or fastened by thwarts, and both are made to bend a little too much inwards". (BURTON, R. F. *Two Trips to Gorilla Land. II.* 48. London : 1876.)

Hornell also mentions the large canoes of the coastal Indians of British Columbia, but makes but one mention (p. 281) of the great canoes of the Niger and Cross River deltas. "At Bonny some of the canoes are sixty to seventy feet long, and easily carry twelve puncheons of palm oil ; there may be 100 pull-a-boys, or paddlers of whom fifty will be fighting men. . . ." (BURTON, R. F. *Wanderings in West Africa. II.* 277. London : 1863.) I myself have seen these huge canoes which to-day put out to open sea and make the coasts of Fernando Po, at its nearest ninety miles away.

Describing the cult of the "oculus" the painting of an eye or *oculus* on the prow of a boat, Hornell remarks : "it is probable that the custom originated in ancient Egypt". (p. 286.)

To all students of anthropology and to all interested not only in the diffusion of man but also in the origin and development of watercraft, this book is essential. (I would, however, recommend as an introduction to it, Daryll Forde's little book *Ancient Mariners*, 1927.) There is the data—incontrovertible data—then the deductions therefrom made by the author. These deductions, especially about the origin and development of the craft in group (a), raise many very important points. Had his data been available in Graebner's time one wonders how the Kulter-Kreise school would have developed.

M. D. W. JE. FREYS.

The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council.

J. W. DAVIDSON. (London : Faber, 1948.)
150 pp. 12/6. .

The sequence and the pattern of the events described by Mr. Davidson have, for the South African reader, a familiar form. It is evident that in the 20th century, no less than in the 19th, a small but very vocal White community can virtually ignore the indigenous population as an active political force and effectively impose its will on the imperial authorities. To illustrate the point, there is Mr. Davidson's comment on the many changes made in Northern Rhodesia's constitution since 1924, when its legislative body was set up : nearly all have had "but one purpose and one consequence : the increase of European unofficial influence in government". The extent of this influence can be gauged from another observation : "wherever their (the unofficial members') views have not been a factor of primary importance in the formulation of policy during recent years, the cause has been their own lack of interest or of unanimity rather than the opposition of the official members".

Yet, somewhat surprisingly, Mr. Davidson does not think that Northern Rhodesia is headed, independently or in association with her southern neighbour, for dominion status under White minority domination, buttressed by rigid colour bars. It is more likely, he suggests, that further development will be in the nature of "a reversal towards crown colony government of the traditional type until the African majority attains political maturity". Under a system of communal representation, such as was introduced in 1948 when two Africans were appointed to the legislature, the tendency is for the council to be a purely advisory body, with the Governor holding the balance between the racial groups.

Mr. Davidson, it will be noticed, takes a somewhat gloomy view of the future prospects of the White settlers in Northern Rhodesia. If, he points out, a serious decline occurs in the production of copper, many Europeans would be forced to leave the territory. Even if no such decline takes place, however, he envisages a steady widening

in the scope of employment open to Africans, at the expense of the Europeans, in spite of the attempt of a large section of the Whites to enforce industrial colour bars. This attempt, he considers, will be defeated by economic needs, by the growing political maturity of the Africans, and by the determination of the British government to provide equality of treatment for colonial peoples.

It is an interesting thesis, and one that has a practical bearing on South African politics. Can it be said that the intensification of race discrimination in the Union, however much it may inspire, White colonists elsewhere with the spirit of emulation, strengthens in the imperial authorities and in the Africans a resistance to an extension to other territories of the Union's policies ? If so, South Africa, in pursuing her present course, is likely to find herself increasingly isolated in the continent of Africa.

Unfortunately, Mr. Davidson does not provide enough data by which to judge the soundness of his predictions. A weakness of a study confined to constitutional forms and changes is that the social and economic factors and relationships involved are not adequately analysed. As a description of the political conflicts and relations between the imperial authority and the White settlers in a multi-racial society, the book is valuable ; for an evaluation of the events and views described, however, it should be supplemented with such a work as Dr. Rita Hinden's *Plan for Africa*.

H.J.S.

Talking Drums of Africa. J. F. CARRINGTON,
PH.D. (Carey Kingsgate Press, London : 1949.)
96 pp. 5/-.

In his book *Where Men Still Dream*, Lawrence Green wrote : "This is the 'bush telegraph' about which a thousand tales are told. White men know the broad effects of drum-talk well enough, but no white man can ever hope to master all its baffling technique. It is now recognised that there is no thought which a clever drummer cannot express."

But, in this book before us, Dr. Carrington, Missionary Educationist of Yakusu in the Belgian Congo, *has* mastered this baffling technique. This present publication is a popular exposition of the scientific thesis which he presented for his doctor's degree some years ago, and we await with eagerness the publication of his fuller work, which, we understand, is being undertaken by the Belgian Colonial Government.

We have read the book with extreme interest. Chapter IV describing "How messages are sent", and the succeeding chapters giving details of various types of messages, are especially illuminating. Since the drums or gongs are made to produce two musical notes, which correspond to the two-tone system of the languages throughout the area, it is obvious that sequence patterns drummed out might correspond to the tones of a large number of words in each case. In order, therefore, to define the particular word intended the sequence is followed by some descriptive phrase, which together with the initial sequence forms a kind of "signature tune" well known to drummers for its definite connotation. All this is clearly demonstrated by Dr. Carrington with many examples. It is obvious therefore that a short message entailing a few words in the spoken tongue becomes an elaborate affair on the two-toned drum when put out over the air, each significant word demanding its "signature tune".

This comparison of the spoken language to the drummed equivalent is very like the relation-

ship of the Chinese written symbol to the spoken vocable followed by its descriptive complement when one of dozens of meanings must be differentiated for any given monosyllabic tonal vocable. In the method used for the drum language one is irresistibly reminded of the extension of the Egyptian hieroglyphics by determinatives added to the phonetic symbols. The principle is found elsewhere in Congo, too; and reference might be made to the use of *lulumbi* in Luba (see BURTON's article, "Oral Literature in Lubaland", *African Studies*, Vol. 2, pp. 93-6). In *lulumbi* place names are extended into place phrases, each place name having sometimes a lengthy description added to it; e.g. the hill Mwanza is described as "Mwanza hill well extended, the arm reaches to Kilenge, the foot reaches to Kanshimba". Probably further researches will show that drum language has had wide influence in other forms of speech throughout Central Africa.

Dr. Carrington's word-division seems to us faulty in some instances, it tends sometimes towards the disjunctive. One reader of the book has suggested that careful watching of pauses in drum-beats may reveal a correspondence between such pauses and the completion of full words. This may be a further useful avenue of research. Perhaps there is something noted of this in the author's fuller work.

This publication marks a milestone in African linguistic research and we heartily commend it.

C.M.D.

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